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ABSTRACT

Contents include: a brief biography of Mary Donlon Alger; highlights of affirmative action in Cornell University, Brown University, Dartmouth College, Columbia University, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, and Princeton University; a panel discussion of affirmative action today; the role and contributions of women trustees and administrators; women trustees and and decisionmaking; trustee--administrator interaction; alumnae as future leaders; women administrators; Washington area resources for affirmative action; plans for future conferences; affirmative action in a no-growth situation; issues in the recruitment, development, promotion, and remuneration of women faculty; a participant list; and an annotated bibliography. (MSE)

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Gateways and Barriers for Women in the University Community

It is the duty of
any successful woman
to provide
a strong pair
of shoulders
for other women
to climb on.

Mary Donlon Alger

The publication of these proceedings
has been made possible
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Gateways and Barriers for Women in the University Community

Proceedings of the
Mary Donlon Alger
Conference for
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Preface

Kathryn M. Moore
Editor
Assistant Professor of Higher Education, Cornell University

When Mary Donlon Alger '20 attended Cornell, the university and the nation were said to be at the gateway of a new age for women. After all, women had won the vote, and the world was going to become a better place because of it. Mary herself bridged the gap between the present and future by becoming a leader in both the men's and women's spheres of higher education. She joined a sorority, was elected to several women's honor societies, and served as president of the Women's Self-Governing Association. At the same time, she studied law and became editor of the *Cornell Law Quarterly* (now the *Cornell Law Review*), the first and only woman ever to hold that post. After college, she went on to build a distinguished career as a lawyer and judge and as a dedicated steward of her alma mater.

It is now some fifty years later, and the times are once again called auspicious for women's advancement. The Equal Rights Amendment slowly approaches the necessary number of state ratifications for its passage. Policies for implementing affirmative action and Title IX of the Education Amendments of 1972 are in effect on most campuses. Like Mary Donlon Alger, individual women are seeking and finding ways to live their lives as women and as leaders in a still male-dominated world; at the same time, real gains in terms of the numbers of women becoming faculty members, administrators, or even trustees remain small. Barriers are real and growing. A no-growth economy, to cite only one example, makes progress difficult if not impossible. Anyone sensitive to university life knows the struggles for equity by women and minorities will be long and, in too many cases, bitter and costly.

The conference reported in these pages bears witness to these difficulties and achievements, to the changes, and to the similarities with times past. We are especially delighted to be able to honor Mary Donlon Alger's active faith in women's abilities. By holding this conference in her name we hoped to increase the university community's awareness of the progress still being made for and by university women.

The conference came about through the energetic insistence of the woman members of the Cornell Board of Trustees. It came about because these women believed it was time for their institution to join with sister institutions in a critical assessment of the gateways and barriers to women's participation in the university community. As the proposal for the meeting states,

> Responsibility for implementation of affirmative action lies properly with the trustees and top administrators of each institution, yet few women are included in these ranks. Furthermore, there is no consensus as to the interpretation of the principles of equity in human rights and their implementation within the context of higher education. In an ambiguous situation with little precedent to guide the conduct of their responsibilities and few women colleagues with whom to discuss alternatives and implications, university trustees and administrators are at a disadvantage. It is hoped that this Conference will provide a forum at which decision-makers can benefit from one another's thoughts and experiences in ultimately moving ahead in these areas.

This conference is the first of its kind in the history of the Cornell board's activities and the first of its kind for the participating universities. As Robert Purcell, chairman of the Cornell Board of Trustees, has pointed out, by sponsoring the conference and by dedicating it to a distinguished alumna, Cornell has reaffirmed its tradition of equality of education for both men and women.

Participants at the conference included both female and male trustees and administrators from the following universities: Barnard, Brown, Columbia, Dartmouth, MIT, Pennsylvania, Princeton, Radcliffe, and SUNY, in addition to Cornell. Resource people included representatives from the Association of Governing Boards of Universities and Colleges, the Higher Education Resource Service, the American Council on Education, and the Fund for the Improvement of Post-secondary Education (HEW).

The program was varied and fast-paced. The goal was to illuminate as many of the gateways and barriers as possible and to facilitate open, frank discussion about them. The format included individual presentations, panels, workshop sessions, and speeches. A spirit of colleagueship and shared concern permeated the sessions even though agreement was not always reached, and differences of opinion were clearly and firmly voiced.

By the close of the conference, it was clear that the board members and administrators who participated valued this opportunity to confer with each other and with the specialists. Most have indicated that the exchange has helped them to define and strengthen their work as stewards of their institutions. They have agreed to seek ways to continue these conferences on an annual basis and to support the work of those in higher education who seek to act affirmatively toward achieving equity of opportunity for women. It is now our hope that this summary of the conference will assist others in enhancing women's participation in the academic community.

As these proceedings were going to press, we were saddened to learn of Mary Donlon Alger's death on March 5, 1977. Her passing is deeply regretted by all Cornellians. We are happy that the conference was held during her lifetime. It was visible proof that the commitment to woman's achievement, which she so vehemently advocated and so gracefully embodied, continues to grow at Cornell and at sister universities and colleges. Success, when it comes, will be because of women like Mary Donlon Alger.

Mary Donlon Alger

Robert W. Purcell
Chairman
Board of Trustees
Cornell University

Judge Mary Donlon Alger, trustee emerita of Cornell University, is a 1920 graduate of the Cornell Law School. As an undergraduate she was the president of the Women's Self-Government Association; as a law student, she was the only woman to serve as editor-in-chief of the *Cornell Law Quarterly* (which became the *Cornell Law Review* approximately ten years ago). She began her law career in the offices of Daniel Burke in New York and became a partner in the firm of Burke and Burke in 1928. She continued actively in that partnership until she was appointed chairwoman of the New York State Industrial Board in 1944 by Governor Thomas E. Dewey. The following year she was named chairwoman of the state's Workmen's Compensation Board and continued at that post until she was appointed to the United States customs court in 1955. She was the first New York woman to be appointed to the federal bench.

She has long been active in Cornell alumni activities. Before becoming a University trustee, she was president of the Federation of Cornell Women's Clubs and director of the Cornell Alumni Association. She served as a trustee from 1937 -- at that time the only woman on the board — until 1966 and as a member of the Execu-

tive Committee for twenty-seven of those years. She was vice chairwoman of the Executive Committee for seventeen years. In 1966, she was named a presidential councillor.

The annual Mary H. Donlon Lectures in Cornell's New York State School of Industrial and Labor Relations were endowed in her honor by leaders in industry, labor, and the professions. Judge Alger has established a scholarship fund to aid upperclasswomen, administered with and a part of the Federation of Cornell Women's Clubs Scholarship program. In 1968 she established the Mary Donlon Alger Professorship in the College of Arts and Sciences, to be filled by women. The encumbent is Eleanor Harz Jorden.

Judge Alger has been concerned about the status of women both at Cornell and in her profession. She is involved with the American Association of University Women, the Federation of Business and Professional Women, and the Women's National Republican Club. As chairman of the Council for the College of Home Economics, in 1961, she stated, "This is a time for dedicated leadership at every level of our society to help formulate a public awareness of what we believe, as a people, and to state those beliefs again to a world which is no longer impartial, but for the most part will not even listen to our beliefs." Although her remarks were addressed to our belief in democracy, the statement appears to be equally applicable in 1976 to affirmative action.

Opening Remarks

Margaret Hickey
Public Affairs Editor
Ladies' Home Journal

Remarks on these occasions usually include reference to the leadership, generosity, loyalty, and faithfulness of the individual honored. Mary Donlon's endowments include all of these qualifications to the fullest, but the most fitting tribute I can offer is simply to express my gratitude and admiration for her career, which has brought her into the upper hierarchies of achievement in American life and has given her enormous influence in her public, political, and educational roles.

Mary Donlon made her mark in the world but also in our lives. For those of us who have been privileged to know her in person, she is a down-to-earth, strong-willed leader who fights for her convictions and is not afraid of the noise and clash of ideas. She never forgets private feelings and the hopes and dreams of her friends and colleagues throughout the world. She is on the telephone and at her desk daily, urging upon all of us ways and means to strengthen and to accelerate the influence of women in leadership.

Forty years of friendship, many shared associations, and now residence in Tucson make it possible for me to be in almost daily contact with Mary's continued concern and constant effort to actualize the very goals we shall be discussing here. Even though Mary could not be with us, her name is more than a symbol; her participation, I assure you, is real and far-reaching.

Mary's distinguished legal and judicial background led her to the very heart of the issues confronting men and women at a time when our country so desperately needs the talents and insights of its best minds. Advancement of women to positions of high responsibility requires individuals who will give the utmost attention to preparation for technical specialties and professional distinction. Mary has encouraged research, very high scholarship, and social involvement and, best of all, has been an exemplar for thousands of men and women here at her alma mater.

Mary Donlon faces reality, and she acts. She is one of the truly great women of our century.

Highlights

Affirmative Action in Participating Institutions

The highlights were brief presentations by representatives of each participating institution describing the status of affirmative action on his or her campus. The presentations began at the opening luncheon and continued into the afternoon. Lauryn Guttenplan, a Cornell trustee, served as moderator. Interest was high because hard facts and figures and difficult situations were laid out in crisp, honest detail. The attitudes expressed ran from gloom to determined optimism. No one sought to minimize either the gains or the difficulties. Dr. John Wynne's presentation concerning MIT's plan of action sparked the most comments.

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Cornell University

David Knapp
Provost

During the past year there have been three areas of general activity that affect a number of recommendations within my report to the Cornell trustees of May 27, 1976: Title IX self-evaluation, affirmative action, and the employment status of women on campus.

Pursuant to Title IX of the Education Amendments of 1972, a self-evaluation committee was appointed in October to review university compliance with Title IX regulations on sex discrimination. The committee's report and recommendations, issued on May 15, 1976, are now being reviewed by appropriate administrative officers to bring university policies and procedures into compliance. The areas covered in the report include access to courses; undergraduate and graduate admissions; advising and counseling, including career services; academic and nonacademic employment; grievance procedures; health services; housing; physical education and athletics; publications; safety division; and student organizations. Administrative units throughout the university have been asked to respond to the recommendations.

Throughout the year the Affirmative Action Office and Vice President Cooke have been at work on a revision of the 1971 affirmative action plan. Statistical analyses for the goals and timetables sections of the plan are now virtually complete and will be reviewed by the various academic and administrative units of the university, as will policies and procedures.

The Provost's Advisory Committee on the Status of Women has developed a series of recommendations on access to information on and equity in employment, particularly with respect to nonacademic exempt and nonexempt personnel. The senior vice president, with the assistance of Personnel Services, is proceeding with discussions on the recommendations and action on the publication of salary schedules.

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In addition to this campuswide activity, I would like to make note of specific undertakings in the areas of administration, faculty appointments, and student affairs. In the administration as of May 15, 1976, nine of sixty-two members of the board of trustees were female. New female members since the last annual report are Jean Way Schoonover, elected by the alumni; Lauryn Guttenplan, elected by the students; and Joan Wright, elected by the faculty.

June Fessenden-Raden, associate professor in the Division of Biological Sciences, was appointed vice provost effective July 3, 1975. Vice Provost Fessenden-Raden's responsibilities fall within the area of undergraduate education, and she has been actively concerned with the status of female undergraduates, faculty, and staff. A member of the university counsel's staff has concentrated over the last several years on cases related to equal opportunity. With the increased number of grievances internally, as well as the higher number of appeals to the Human Rights Division, the staff member has experienced an extremely heavy workload.

Activity in the area of faculty includes a study by Vice President Cooke of trends in female academic appointments from 1970–71 to 1975–76. It provides the following data: (1) The number of women in professional ranks has increased from ninety-two in February 1971 to one hundred twenty-eight in February 1976. Those in tenured ranks increased from fifty-one to sixty-six. The percentage of females in the faculty increased during this period from 6.1 percent to 8.4 percent. (2) The percentage of new female faculty appointed to three-year terms and tenure was identical to that of male faculty in the period from 1972 to 1975, and a higher percentage of women than men were appointed to the rank of assistant professor without postdoctoral experience. (3) In the years from 1972–73 to 1975–76, the relative tenure promotion rates for women and men in the colleges with the largest number of female faculty were as follows: Arts and Sciences, 50 percent female, 53 percent male; Human Ecology, 59 percent female, 67 percent male.

Other developments affecting the faculty have been new appointments and a study of faculty salaries. As of May 18, 1976, a total of thirty-two new faculty appointments had been made or were pending for the academic year 1976–77. Nine, or 28 percent of the total, were women. Vice President Cooke is initiating a full salary study with the assistance of the Division of Management Systems Analysis to determine inequities that may be based on sex or race.

The appointment of women to both academic and nonacademic search committees has been discussed throughout the year, and the Provost's Advisory Committee on the Status of Women has recommended a procedure in this area. No general policy has yet been developed, in part because of the small number of women available for service on search committees. As an alternative, a plan for a permanent search committee for higher level exempt nonacademic positions has been developed and reviewed by several groups and will be considered for incorporation in the final affirmative action plan.

We have seen a number of changes in the area of student affairs. There has been continued progress in increasing the number of woman students in colleges that were formerly predominantly male. Evidence to this effect can be found in Veterinary Medicine, Agriculture and Life Sciences, Business and Public Administration, Engineering, Hotel, Industrial and Labor Relations, Law, and Medicine. For example, the percentage of women in Agriculture and Life Sciences moved from 19 percent in the fall of 1970 to 38 percent in the fall of 1975; in B&PA from 3 percent to 20 percent; in Engineer-

ing from 2 percent to 9 percent; and in Law from 7 percent to 22 percent. The College of Veterinary Medicine has adopted a "sex blind" admissions policy, in which the names and sexes of applicants are unknown to the admissions committee.

The Women's Studies Program was reviewed by an evaluation committee in the College of Arts and Sciences, and the faculty of that college has voted to give the program permanent status. Proposals for increased future funding of the program were reviewed by and endorsed by the Deans' Council and the Academic Programs and Policies Committee of the Faculty Council of Representatives. Increased funding will be incorporated in the budget for 1977–78.

The Title IX evaluation committee reviewed university policies with respect to advising, counseling, and vocational counseling. A number of recommendations have been made for improving the university position with respect to programs and policies in these areas, and specific inadequacies have been pointed out. The effort of the Career Center to sponsor more programs for vocational counseling for women has met with apparent success.

The Title IX evaluation committee delineates a number of specific recommendations with respect to improvements in the access of women to equal physical education and athletic programs. Particularly, they point to the need for medical and training facilities for women and improved publicity for women's sports. The self-evaluation report also notes that there is "a marked disparity between the funding of men's and women's programs" and recommends that this condition be remedied. It also recommends that complaints concerning inadequate facilities for women be reviewed.

The Title IX evaluation committee indicates that women's organizations are funded on an equal basis with other organizations. All student organizations must be open to both sexes to receive funds from the university. Twenty percent of the seats in the university senate are held by women, and one woman has been elected to the board as student trustee.

As for the implementation of the recommendations of the evaluation committee, the Provost's Advisory Committee on the Status of Women has been continued and has been staffed with a half-time employee. It is anticipated that the responsibilities of the committee will be broadened to include a continuing compliance review of Title IX regulations.

Brown University

Eric Widmer
Executive Officer
of the Dean of Faculty
and Academic Affairs

You asked for the position of each of our institutions on affirmative action. I can tell you that Brown is very affirmative. That does not mean much. It is the action that counts, not the affirmation of it. As Jackie Mattfeld will undoubtedly tell us tomorrow, it is difficult to record the highlights of affirmative action when a university's faculty is actually declining in size. We have had some success in minority recruiting, and some women do occupy some positions in the higher echelons of the administration, but not the highest — not anymore, since Dean Mattfeld left. There were no women before her, and there aren't any now. Now that our president, Donald Hornig, has left we've also lost Lilli Hornig, who is here today. Lilli is executive director of the Higher Education Resource Services and is moving her office to Wellesley.

If there is any particular affirmative action push at Brown, it is in the hiring of new junior faculty. This is where most of the turnover in appointed ranks occurs and where most of the new appointing is done. Therefore, it is where the greatest opportunity to practice affirmative action is. Nevertheless, our score is not very high. This year only eleven new regular faculty were hired, eight men and three women. Meanwhile, Brown continues to be shadowed by its greatest lowlight, namely the Lamphere case. This suit was brought against the university by Louise Lamphere, an anthropologist, when she was denied tenure, allegedly on the basis of sex discrimination. Brewing for two years now, this case has just been certified as a class action. It would be hard to argue that Brown is completely alive to the principle of equal opportunity and to the practice of affirmative action. But if it is showing life it may be due as much to Louise Lamphere as to our growing collective consciousness that equal opportunity and affirmative action are good and right and just.

Now having said all that, let me simply conclude that the picture remains a mixed one at Brown. On the positive side, we now keep statistics. On the negative side, the statistics do not always show much progress; especially in a no-growth situation. Let me try to illustrate the problem with some rough figures. With regard to the hiring of junior faculty: in 1973–74, twenty-eight men and four women were hired; in 1974–75, nineteen men and seven women; in 1975–76, fifteen men, ten women; and in 1976–77, as I said, eight men and three women. With regard to the hiring of senior faculty: in 1973–74, one man, no women; in 1974–75, two men, no women; 1975–76, no men, no women; and this year, no men, no women. With regard to promotions to tenure: in 1973–74, eleven men, no women; 1974–75, seven men, one woman; 1975–76, eleven men, no women; and in 1976–77, seven men, two women. With reference to the termination of contracts: in 1973–74, nine men, four women; 1974–75, nineteen men, four women; 1975–76,

eleven men, one woman; and, effective June 30, 1977, twelve men, one woman.

Finally, the distribution of faculty by sex is as follows: 1975–76, last year, 311 tenured male faculty members, 8 tenured female faculty members. 1976–77, this year, 303 male tenured faculty members, 10 female tenured faculty members. As far as the untenured faculty are concerned in 1975–76, last year, there were 88 untenured males and 39 untenured females. This year, there are 76 untenured males and 38 untenured females. With a young — comparatively-speaking — senior, tenured faculty; only a handful of retirements — at most — each year, and with an austere staffing plan, the problem is enormous.

Let me demonstrate it, finally, in this way: 41 percent of all undergraduates at Brown are female; 35 percent of all graduate students at Brown are female; 28 percent of all medical school students at Brown are female; 11 percent of the entire faculty at Brown is female; 3 percent of the tenured faculty at Brown is female. The only highlight, if it can be called that, is that 33 percent of our untenured faculty are women. As it is, however, 2,602 female undergraduate students see only 48 female members of the Brown faculty. There is little opportunity for role modeling, for finding in a female professor the opportunity for charting one's own growth and professional development. Like so much else, the odds are cyclically set against many more women going into graduate school from where they would become those female professors that we now have too few of.

Dartmouth College

Margaret Bonz
Affirmative Action Officer

The highlight of our year at Dartmouth was the approval of our affirmative action plan in October. This does not mean that we are in the clear, it just means that we must continue to live up to the good reputation that we have established.

During the past year we were able to develop a standardized monitoring system whereby the affirmative action officer is systematically informed of every vacant position at the college. Then, prior to an offer of appointment for any of these positions, the affirmative action officer either has to sign off on the recruitment procedures or else, in the realm of the faculty, consult with the associate dean before approval is given to a department to make an offer of appointment. This system simplifies my job tremendously because I am aware of all positions that are open. It allows me to serve as a resource to the departments in assisting them in their recruitment efforts by supplying them with information about places where they most likely could recruit for women and minority candidates.

We all have been involved in Title IX during the past year. Dartmouth is no exception. We completed our Title IX evaluation during the past year, and part of that, of course, was the development of a student grievance procedure; we were simultaneously revising our affirmative action grievance procedure. An influence on both processes was the recognition that we really needed better grievance procedures for all constituencies. We are now engaged in the process of putting those together. We have had grievance procedures in the past, but they have been very sketchy, very brief. The kind that we are now in the process of developing are much more sophisticated and formalized.

With respect to hiring, our trustee goals that were part of the approved affirmative action plan have been met every year since 1971, when they were established. To give you a brief example of where Dartmouth has come in those years, I will quote some statistics briefly. During the period 1971–76 the number of regular, full-time female faculty has increased from twelve to forty-four. That is, we have gone from 4 percent women faculty to 14 percent women faculty in the four years. For our minority faculty we have increased the numbers from four to twenty-two, going from 1.3 percent to 6.9 percent. For this past year I do not yet have the final count, but we've made approximately thirty appointments, of which twelve have been women and four have been minorities. To conclude, I might say that in my role of affirmative action officer I find myself constantly serving as a resource and consultant to all kinds of people in the community. One of the things that I constantly must communicate is simply an understanding about what is meant by fair employment practices, which are really the foundation of affirmative action.

Columbia University

Donald L. Miller
Vice President
for Personnel
Management

There are, frankly, a lot of problems at Columbia. This is not something uncommon that all of us are sharing today and will continue to share for sometime to come. I will talk about where I think we have been and where I hope we are, and I will be a little bit less inclined to talk about where we're going.

When I look ahead, I am constantly reminded of the gentleman who heard that his minister was able to communicate with those in heaven. So he asked his minister if he could tell him whether or not there were golf courses in heaven since he loved to play golf. His minister promised he would reflect on it and ask the appropriate questions of the appropriate party at the appropriate time, and he did. When the gentleman came back the next morning, the minister said to him, "David, you asked me a question, and I have the answer. It's both good and bad." "First," he said, "You will be pleased to know that there are about twenty-five championship golf courses in heaven." David said, "That's great news!" "The bad news is," the minister continued, "that you have an eight o'clock tee time tomorrow morning."

When I joined Columbia University in 1973 it had just undergone a very serious problem with the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare with respect to its affirmative action. Prior to that experience with HEW, there was no plan; there were no goals; there were no timetables and, more important, we did not have any real method for measuring what we had been doing. We did not have anything that even approximated a job classification program, and without *that*, it seems to me, it is impossible to really definitively determine what sort of progress you are making. By virtue of some really Herculean efforts on the part of people well before my arrival, the university did institute a form of classification system. We still have our misgivings about it, and we are still working on it. In the process, we did develop and submit for consideration an affirmative action plan. That plan will be available to you in a condensed version.

We have had some recent developments, however, that are giving us some concern. In the process of what was termed a preaward review, the Department of Health, Education and Welfare raised some questions regarding some updates to our affirmative action plan. Their questions are requiring us to do additional comprehensive research and statistical analysis.

I have some very real concerns about the effectiveness of the affirmative action plan as it is now. The program has three major features to it. The first is a monitoring procedure for all new appointments to both faculty and nonfaculty positions. Another facet is the initiation and implementation of a classification system for noninstructional positions, which also includes an appeal mechanism and a grievance mechanism. Third, we now have an

ongoing review process that includes periodic updates and statistical analyses of the numbers and distribution of our faculty and staff employees.

The monitoring committee concept, which is very much in effect, requires that all people who are appointed to the faculty and all people who are appointed to administrative positions above a certain grade, specifically grade eight, are required to undergo a monitoring process. Two separate committees, one for faculty and one for administrative staff, have been established. The university's equal opportunity officer sits ex officio on both committees. No position will be approved or receive monitoring committee concurrence until it has been determined that all procedural considerations with respect to the position have been met. The position must have been posted for a specified period of time and must have met with certain approvals. We must include the ethnic background and sex of all applicants. Copies of all this information are included for use by the committee.

It is a very solid committee that is growing in stature. For example, I now have on my desk the case of an appointment that the committee categorically refused to agree to. For the very first time in its existence, the committee made a statement that they felt the nature of the selection served to the disinterest of affirmative action and that the selection was racist in nature. I was amazed to see this sort of thing coming out of a monitoring committee in an academic institution. But I was delighted because the committee is coming into its own. The committee is saying things that it ought to be saying, instead of closing its eyes to things that it has heretofore closed its eyes to.

I think we are beginning to see the same thing as it applies to women. We have not had the sort of success that I would like at Columbia in terms of being able to create opportunities for women, particularly within the administrative area. Our turnover is relatively low in the senior positions. We have not expanded our positions. We did have one young lady, an exceptionally competent administrator, who was our assistant provost until a couple of months ago

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when she resigned. She has left a great void that is going to be difficult to fill. We're hoping that affirmative action will enable us to do the right thing by that decision, particularly as it relates to women.

As affirmative action relates to the faculty side of the house, I feel less confident in my discussion because it is an area that I'm not very intensely involved in. I can tell you that over the course of the three years between 1972 and 1975 we have had a loss of one tenured woman faculty member, but we have had a gain of seven women who are not tenured faculty.

Now, what does all this mean in terms of total numbers? It is very difficult for me to say. The point is that the university has said that it has a commitment to and a dedication to affirmative action and equal opportunity. Unfortunately, I think much as is the case of Brown and other places that do not have the opportunity for great turnover and expansion, Columbia is not in the process of great expansion this year either. The opportunities for growth and development of women and minorities are therefore significantly limited.

We have problems with our affirmative action plan. I hope as we sit and talk this afternoon and tomorrow, that we will benefit from each other's experiences. We feel, for example, that because we do not have a consequential employee training program in place, our ability to develop, particularly in terms of the opportunities for women and minorities, is limited. We do not have any programs that are especially designed to increase the level of employment for women. I'm not talking now simply about the affirmative action program, but we have not really extended ourselves as we should. In the outreach process, we are often hampered, frankly, by the financial straits in which we find ourselves. We are not able in this instance to expend the dollars that we ought to in the process of doing any intensive recruitment. All in all, I would say that there is a sense of concern on the university campus with respect to hiring women and minorities. I think we are particularly concerned that, so far, our affirmative action plan has not received the sort of blessings that our sister institution, Dartmouth, has received.

As far as the future is concerned, we are now developing what I think will be a much more comprehensive affirmative action plan, one that I hope will have some teeth in it. It may possibly allow us to get some additional financial resources.

Massachusetts Institute of Technology

John M. Wynne
Vice President for Administration and Personnel

About five years ago I had personnel added to my vice presidential portfolio at MIT. Not very long after that, the regional Civil Rights office of HEW in Boston sent a team over to visit us to see how we were doing. One of their criticisms was that nobody around the campus seemed to know that John Wynne was the equal employment opportunity officer. That didn't surprise me too much because I didn't know it either. But by this time, I know that I am the equal employment opportunity officer. And if I sound proud of what we have done at MIT, if I sound somewhat self-serving — I'm not going to say that we are not without problems — I am proud, for we have changed, and we view these issues as something to which we are committed over the long pull.

We have sought to institutionalize the affirmative action idea and build it into our structure and processes. And we are not despairing if somehow we do not meet our particular goal this year. We know that there are pipelines to be filled in terms of able, young minorities and women moving through undergraduate school and graduate school and into faculty ranks. That's a time-consuming process, and we are hopeful that, as that process continues and advances, our goals are going to be met.

My principal interest, then, is to talk about the ways we have approached affirmative action at MIT. I'm pleased to say that we have an approved affirmative action plan. The institute summary plan is published annually in MIT's newspaper, and Pat Garrison,

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who is the assistant equal employment opportunity officer, is here this afternoon from MIT with copies of that plan, if anybody would like to take a look at it. That plan was approved several years ago. The important fact is that it has been approved. We have updated it at least three times since then. We are on an annual update cycle in which we report our progress to HEW annually. And we are on a cycle in which we revise our goals biennially. By and large, in terms of having a plan and having it approved, I think we are in reasonably good shape.

I would like to talk about our organization, our mechanisms, the way in which we have looked at our policies and tried to modify policies where we thought they were inadequate for our purposes, and the kind of supporting structure that we have provided.

We have, first of all, a president, a chancellor, and provost who are very strongly committed to affirmative action. I take that as the most important ingredient of progress. And we have, as I said, an equal employment opportunity officer who is also the vice president for administration and personnel. Within my portfolio are admissions and financial aid and student placement, as well as academic and nonacademic personnel issues. So these functions come together in our case in rather convenient ways, concentrating responsibility for employment and admissions and affirmative action in the same person.

We have two great strengths organizationally in the persons of the special assistant to the president and chancellor for women and work, Mary Rowe, who is here today and whom you'll hear later, and Clarence Williams, who is the special assistant to the president and chancellor for minority affairs. We have a very strong equal opportunity committee, which is chaired by a tenured, senior member of the faculty and has probably half-dozen other senior faculty members on it. It includes students, graduate students, and members of the staff. We have an equal opportunity structure that runs down through the departments with departmental equal employment opportunity officers who have responsibilities for implementation and planning for the program. To the extent that we can, we ask that the department head serve in that role. Our goal throughout is to use the existing structure of the institution to carry out our affirmative action responsibility.

As far as the mechanisms we employ are concerned, I have described the overarching MIT affirmative action plan. We have, as well, plans for each of the academic departments, administrative departments, and the laboratories. Every department at MIT is required to have an affirmative action plan, and these have been presented to HEW. Some of our sister institutions were not too happy with us for having, as they viewed it, caved in to HEW and produced department affirmative action plans. But our conviction is that the commitment has to begin at the grass roots. Our institutional plans and goals are summaries of departmental plans and goals.

We have had to organize a data system to keep track of applicant flow and to enable us to know fairly quickly what our progress is, how we're doing, and where the soft spots may be.

We have adopted as one of our mechanisms what we call the serious search requirement. The Academic Council of MIT, which consists of the president, the chancellor, and provost, the deans, and the vice presidents — about twenty people — have met for years regularly once a week. At the end of each meeting, for a period of about half an hour, they convene into a staff appointments and an academic appointments subgroup. We require that, before a de-

partment can make an offer of a staff or faculty appointment, it must present to this group through the responsible dean or vice president, evidence that the department has conducted a serious search: evidence that will show that they have not defined the requirements so narrowly as to limit the pool; evidence as to the way in which they have assessed the pool and searched it; and finally evidence that they have made the choice so as to select the best candidate in a nondiscriminatory way. In effect, we have centralized the authority for making appointments for purpoces of affirmative action. We are not looking at qualifications of proposed assistant professors, for example. What we are looking at is the affirmative action search process. And that has been a very important element in consciousness raising, as you might guess, within MIT.

We have a requirement that all nonacademic positions be posted in *Tech Talk*, MIT's weekly newspaper. We encourage without requiring the posting of faculty positions but we do require that all others be posted there. I see this requirement as having very important career development, as well as affirmative action, implications. It opens up the internal labor market of MIT so that there is complete information about what jobs are available. People aspiring to change or promotion are thus encouraged to declare their interest by inquiring about the position and making application for it.

We have, I think, a good system of salary review. It is a system that generates a fair amount of statistical data. Beyond that, we look — individual by individual — at salary patterns in an effort to see whether a particular person may appear to be underpaid, and if so, why.

And, finally, we have what we think is a general and fairly effective grievance procedure, which I leave to Mary Rowe to comment on because she is very much involved in that process.

We found it necessary to comb our policies and practices to see whether they are adequately supportive of what we wanted to do. One of the first, for example, was the decision we have written into our policy to allow appointments, including tenure appointments, that recognize the fact that it may be necessary for individuals to take leaves of absence or have periods of part-time service because of child-rearing responsibilities. The consequence of that is we can

stop the tenure clock. I stress the word *individuals*, because our policy accommodates men and women with child-rearing responsibilities.

Similarly, we have moved to make the benefits program available to the people who want part-time service, to encourage such employment. Anyone who's 50 percent or more employed at MIT has access to the full MIT benefits program, prorated where proration is appropriate.

We have, I think, a fairly clear-cut policy on nepotism. Its main thrust is that MIT appoints people with regard to their quality and capability and talents, without regard to family relationship. We qualify that only to the end that no person shall be in a position of judging another or administering the salary of a member of his or her family. We have extended that policy just a little to say that it applies with equal force to persons whose living arrangements approximate to a family relationship, knowing that the identification of such situations is a matter of some delicacy. We go on to say that it is the responsibility of individuals to be aware of the reasons for such a policy and to conduct themselves accordingly.

We have moved to a policy of maternity leave that treats childbirth, or rather maternity and disabilities associated with it, as any other disability under our sick-pay plan. Our policy provides as well for what we call parental leave, that is, the opportunity for the husband or wife to take an eight-week leave of absence without pay in connection with the birth of a child.

We have a further policy that encourages what I would call job sharing. I will not say that we have a wave of job sharing on the campus, but, in fact, we have one situation in which I have some pride and which I think works very well. We have an Office of Personnel Development that is responsible for training and for personal and organizational development work on the campus and Lincoln Laboratory. The codirectors of that office happen to be a husband and wife who share the single job of heading the office. When I introduced them to Dr. Wiesner, the president, as part of the interview process, he said, "I can think of a lot of reasons why this

wouldn't work. But," he said, "after all, this is MIT, and we're experiment-minded. Let's try it." From my point of view, it has worked beautifully.

I would like to move on to support structures. We have what I think is an effective child-care program, which includes general counseling, guidance, and a referral service to day-care providers; we have a family day-care program in which we encourage and assist parent providers of day care to other youngsters. We have the Technology Children's Center, which includes a nursery school and regular day-care program. These programs serve faculty, students, and staff.

Most important in our support structure are the two special assistants that I previously mentioned, Dr. Mary Rowe and Dr. Clarence Williams. There has been a great change in outlook and attitude around MIT because Mary and Clarence exist and because of the kind of people they are.

We see a great value in mentors. I don't mean in the sense of any formal appointment. I am referring principally to the faculty, but, especially, I would say, for women and members of minority groups who come to the faculty. And while we don't want to formalize relationships to the extent of making specific appointments, the department heads are strongly encouraged to make sure that new, young members of the faculty, women and minorities, do have a senior person who is guiding their development to the extent that they want such help. Of course, some don't.

We have adopted within the last two years a staff classification system. Its primary goal is to achieve equity in compensation and consistency in reward for responsibility. Women and minorities have been major beneficiaries of our new plan.

Finally, in the area of support structures, we have a very competent medical department that is available to students and faculty and others employed in the institute. There is a very strong psychiatric and counseling service and a good social work service, as well as broad and first-class medical care. We view that as an important element of our support structure.

I should add, as I mentioned before, our Office of Personnel Development. We have an administrative development program intended to help upgrade the staff, to give them an opportunity for acquiring added skills and understanding in administrative areas. We have also within the last three years reorganized our personnel office to stress an outreach of personnel services with a very strong focus on the individual employee.

We have begun within the last ten days what is a major supervisory training program at the Lincoln Laboratory, an eighteen hundred-person laboratory at MIT. This is an affirmative action and supervisory training program of twenty hours duration. One thousand technical staff and administrators will take this program over a period of the next three years. It will produce, I am sure, remarkable changes in that laboratory.

As I said at the outset, I may have shown some pride in what we have tried to do at MIT. I don't mean to say that we have solved all our problems or that we have made enormous strides in meeting all our goals. Indeed, we have not. But a crucial fact is that our attitude has been a positive, committed one. Our relationships with the Boston office of HEW have been constructive, and I think that arises out of a sense of trust on both sides, theirs that our intentions are good and ours that they are not acting capriciously or arbitrarily. Good faith, commitment, and mutual trust are essential to affirmative action progress.

Princeton University

Albert Rees
Provost

If I may, I'll skip fairly quickly over the accomplishments in order to save time to talk about the problem areas, because it seems to me that they are the most important to talk about. We do have an approved affirmative action plan. It was approved in April by the New York office of HEW after a year of extraordinarily difficult negotiations. I hope I do not have to go through another negotiation as difficult as that one soon. The difficulty of the negotiation, I think, comes from our unwillingness to make promises we thought we would have great difficulty in keeping. We have not made any that we will have great difficulty in keeping, and therefore I am hopeful that we are going to be able to live up to that affirmative action plan. We have two EEO committees, one for the faculty and professional staff and one for the administrative and support staff. They meet monthly. They do not review individual appointments — in that sense they seem to be different from Columbia's committee. They discuss procedures and principles. It is the responsibility of the people in the personnel office, for academic and support staff, and in the Dean of the Faculty's Office, for faculty and professional staff,

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to monitor the individual appointments for compliance with our EEO procedures. They report to these committees in more general terms rather than on specific cases, though the committees may discuss individual cases for illustrative purposes.

We had approximately sixty women on the faculty the last academic year. I think that will have gone up slightly with this year. I do not yet have the numbers. Our statistics for this academic year will be based on the September payroll and will be available next month. The area in which we have made progress has been in the appointment of women to the nontenured faculty. That group is growing both in size and perhaps in quality. It is a very active, large, able group of woman assistant professors. We have also made important progress in the appointment of women to the middle levels of the administration. If I may give just four recent examples: within the past year we have had women in posts that were previously filled by men: the associate university librarian, the assistant university counsel, the Washington representative of the University, and the head of administrative data processing. These are all important, middle-management positions. Of the two trouble areas, one is the appointment of women to the professional and technical staffs of our laboratories. We have a very large plasma physics laboratory doing mission-oriented research for the Energy Research and Development Administration. The number of the women in that laboratory in scientific and technical positions is very low. In general, we have much more difficulty with engineering and the natural sciences than we do in the humanities and the social sciences. It makes me wonder that MIT doesn't have these kinds of problems, since it is so heavily science- and engineering-oriented.

The most difficult area by far has been in the appointment of women to the tenured faculty. Of the sixty women on the Princeton faculty last year only five were tenured. This is in part because we had virtually no women faculty until eight years ago. The group of sixty that we have now has been built up quite recently. Most of them are young and simply have not reached the point at which tenure decisions are made. But in part it is due to the difficulty of recruiting of women at the level of full professor.

We have had some quite controversial cases in which women have been recommended for promotion by their departments and have not in fact been promoted. Last year there were three cases in which women were recommended for promotion from assistant to associate professor, which is the point at which we give academic tenure. Of those three recommendations for promotion, one was acted on positively and two were acted on negatively. There were also cases of men recommended for promotion that were acted on negatively.

The issue that I find the most difficult, the most troubling, and the most controversial is whether, after you have made a wide search, after you have identified what you think are the best candidates, will you in every case appoint the person who seems to be the best? Or are you going to give special consideration to women as such and to members of minorities as such? I think this is the issue that is still the controversial issue on our campus. The position of the administration is that we do not want to establish something comparable to veteran's preference in the Civil Service, where you automatically get ten points for having served in the armed forces. I think the position of some of the women's groups is that there should be preference for being a woman as such, and that is the issue that I hope will be discussed in the workshops on faculty appointments because I think it is very difficult and very troubling.

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Panel

Affirmative Action Today: An Interpretation

Lilli Hornig
Director
Higher Education Resource Services
New England

Mary Anne Krupsak
Lieutenant Governor of New York
Cornell University trustee

Alison Bernstein
Fund for the Improvement of
Post-Secondary Education
United States Department of
Health, Education, and Welfare

Mary Rowe
Special Assistant to the President and
Chancellor for Women and Work, Massachusetts
Institute of Technology

Moderator
Patricia Carry Stewart
Cornell University trustee

A Review of Recent History of Academic Women

Lilli Hornig
Director
Higher Education
Resource Services
New England

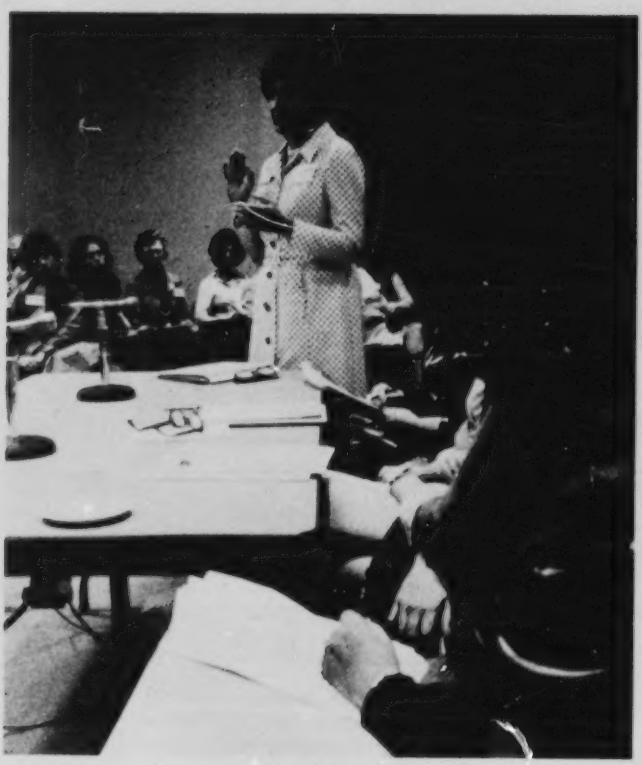
It is a very special pleasure for me to be at this conference, which is the outcome of a dream that June Raden and I hatched in a telephone conversation one day last spring. It is particularly rewarding for me to see this taking shape, since for about five years now I have labored in the stony vineyards of affirmative action. Let me tell you, this is a field where virtue had better be its own reward because there are not very many others. The fact that this conference should take place at Cornell is especially appropriate since Cornell is the only Ivy League institution that has granted women something approaching equal opportunity since its inception.

I would like to begin by reviewing the recent history of academic women very briefly. I am going to try to draw some comparisons between about 1970 and the current year. Let me emphasize at the outset that I will be talking almost entirely about the academic part of the enterprise. The operational side of the university is something that should have no more problem with affirmative action than business or industry. That is not to imply that these divisions are all doing well, but the problems are different. Management is an area in which you can, in effect, issue an order and expect it to be followed down the line. We all realize that the academic part of universities does not operate that way, nor would we want it to.

Historical Comparisons

Accurate comparisons of women's status a few years ago and now are really quite hard to make. I want to make this point because we have heard some numbers regarding affirmative action results in various institutions. Parenthetically, I hope one of the things this conference will accomplish is to gather those numbers together so that we have a coherent picture of the current status in the Ivy League. We have tried to do this in our project from time to time. It is extremely difficult to get real numbers from anybody. We have representatives here from almost all of the Ivy institutions. I hope we can put those numbers together. They would be of great value.

The reason historical comparisons are hard to make is simply that the data base really doesn't exist, for example, for 1970. At that time, institutions were not required to put together personnel data by sex or race in the way they are now. I do not think we should be casting stones at harried administrators because they cannot tell us exactly how many full-time equivalents there were then among women and minority groups on the faculty at a given rank, at a given salary, with a given length of service; and so forth. It is partly for this reason that I have not come to grips with curves and charts. They exist. We have drawn a few ourselves from time to time, but I am always a little unhappy about it because I am not convinced that they represent the actual course of events.



The problem, incidentally, is sometimes harder for administrators than for faculty members. There is at least a common body of understanding about different disciplines, faculty ranks, and academic divisions of the university. When you get to administrators, one man's secretary may be another's junior dean. But whatever the exact figures were, women were very clearly underrepresented or in some cases still unrepresented in the Ivy League in 1970. To someone like me, who has spent the last thirty-five years in and around the Ivy League in one function or another, it is absolutely remarkable to realize that now there really are women on the faculty at Harvard, Princeton, and Columbia. Cornell, I believe, had some all along. Brown had a few thirty years ago, almost as many as now.

The other, more remarkable aspect is that there are woman students in these institutions now. We had a bet on with one of my husband's colleagues at Princeton just about ten years ago that there were going to be woman undergraduates in Princeton within ten years. He put twenty-five dollars on the line that this would *never* happen, and his view was probably representative of most Ivy League faculty. You have heard the figures from Brown: 41 percent woman undergraduates. That is a tremendous step forward, especially when you remember that it is well under ten years since President Pusey of Harvard made his famous remark about the draft eating into student enrollments: "We shall be left with the lame, the blind, and the women."

In regard to woman students, I should also mention that the proportion of woman *graduate* students has risen quite markedly. To my regret, their distribution among fields is still somewhat unrealis-

tic in that they are preponderantly selecting fields with low employment prospects. That is not the universities' fault, by the way, but it *is* society's fault. It is one of the problems that needs to be considered when you talk about professional women. Women need to prepare for some profession, but many young women both in college and in graduate school still aren't doing that.

The changes for faculty have not been nearly so striking as they have for students. As you heard, women on faculties still constitute a very low-ended fraction, existing in small numbers and mostly in the junior ranks. Moreover, during the last few years when we should have begun to see some improvement in their promotion to tenure, there has been virtually none. One has to be careful in talking about promotion rates because somebody is sure to say, "But look, we had no women at all eight years ago, and now we have seven tenured woman faculty, and that is an infinitely large increase." In percentage terms, of course, it is, but seven women out of seven hundred total faculty is not all that impressive. The problem is precisely that one deals with very small variations in numbers that are small to begin with. Those numbers are in ratio to a much larger number so that, assessed one way, the improvement may look good; but assessed in real terms, in the way it makes an impact on students, on the university structure itself, there is not really a lot of difference between having no one and having seven.

At the top levels of administration, there were no women at all in this group of institutions in the past. Now there are women at all levels — only one or two anywhere near the top — but even at Yale the ivied walls are still standing with a female provost. Woman trustees are a very recent addition in most institutions. In the past, most of them have been alumnae trustees, elected as specific representatives rather than appointed. On most boards, the elected trustees constitute a minority of the membership.

In recent years the pipeline of women qualified to be senior faculty members, administrators, and trustees has been filling up slowly. But it is a very long pipeline, and its diameter is small. It is unrealistic to expect much more than a trickle to come out at the other end yet. We can extend that analogy a little and say that this pipeline, or garden hose, used to have a kink in it that kept women from coming through at all. Now that has been almost straightened out, mostly as the result of our affirmative action procedures. Those procedures have been troublesome. They have caused an incredible amount of bitter discussion and animosity. It is almost exactly four years since the affirmative action guidelines for higher education were published. The reactions to them among both faculties and administrations were absolutely explosive. It is hard to convey to those of you who were not involved at the time the sense of total enmity with which those discussions proceeded.

Early Reactions to Affirmative Action

One of the very real reasons for the opposition was the obvious large cost of putting these plans into operation: devising the plans, designing them, doing the necessary studies, which are very far-reaching in some cases. Universities were having to pay up for rather long-term neglect of what industry considers good, ordinary, personnel policies. That is, the universities had no records; they had never worried about job evaluations or job classifications. Those terms sounded horrible to a faculty member and were simply thought not to apply to the university. Yet, as you well know, even private universities draw on public monies for support. They are

certainly as accountable as any other institution, and on moral grounds ought probably to be more so. There was simply no way for them to get out of this, and by and large they have not. They have complied.

On the other hand, there has been an immense amount of foot-dragging on the part of the institutions. Most of the affirmative action plans could probably have been completed a year or two sooner. There has been at least equal foot-dragging on the part of HEW reviewers. They could also have approved a good many plans much sooner, without the kinds of difficult negotiations that Mr. Rees referred to. It will be some time before the problems of enforcing the regulations equitably are ironed out.

One of the very genuine fears among faculties was the fear of reverse discrimination; that is, discrimination *favoring* women and minorities as an integral part of normal faculty appointment procedure. I have never seen any evidence that reverse discrimination exists. There were a few suits brought before HEW about three years ago on grounds of reverse discrimination, and almost all of them were dismissed. The few remaining cases investigated have not been heard from since. Just recently there have been other cases of reverse discrimination in the courts. I am sure you are all familiar with the DeFunis case, and the Bakke case will almost certainly proceed to the Supreme Court. Both these cases, however, involve student admissions, not faculty appointments. The recent general trend has been for the lower courts to disallow anything that they regard as reverse discrimination.

Most of all, faculties and administrations were very upset at the thought that, as they saw it, appointments were not to be made on merit any longer but on irrelevant criteria such as sex and race. It has taken most of these people a long time to agree — and many still don't — that, in the past, merit had been defined in such terms that being male and being white were really prerequisites to having any merit whatsoever. Therefore, it was very easy to go one step further and exclude women and minorities from any kind of important positions. There has been a genuine change in many of those attitudes. It is not universal, but if you work in this area you have to maintain a determined air of optimism.

What does persist from those days of two or three years ago is an air of injured innocence on the part of administrators and senior faculty members who throw up their hands and say, "But we've tried. We *are* trying. What is it that you're bugging us about anyway?" I think it is important when we work in this area to remember that they are also human beings and that most of them have come a very long way in changing their views of what women can do and of what minority people can do. It does no good to alienate them by bitter arguments. We would all do much better by making allies of them where we can.

Trustee Influence and Educational Climate

The primary question before this meeting is what special role trustees can play and what special responsibilities they have to further the causes of women in academic institutions generally and, particularly, in the very elite group of institutions represented here. The fundamental responsibility of trustees, male or female, is to preserve and protect the welfare of the institution they serve and to ensure its future health. From that point of view alone, they have tremendous influence over the policies of the institution and its general moral tone.

One of the ways in which trustees must exercise that influence is to ensure that the entire educational climate of the university is an equitable one for both women and men. With increasing numbers of woman students, there will also be greatly increased numbers of alumnae. It is in the institution's self-interest to prepare those women not simply to go out and be dutiful wives and mothers as they have in the past — most of us have been dutiful wives and mothers anyway — but also to ensure that these women will, in turn, be in a position to return their best contribution to the institution. In ordinary terms in the ordinary world that means they have to be able to make money. They have to have professions. They should have professions comparable to those of the male graduates.

If you look at marriage and divorce statistics, it is also quite clear that most women are going to have to support themselves at least some of the time or to help support the family. They might as well do it on a level appropriate to college graduates or people with advanced degrees. It is up to the institutions to assume more responsibility than they have so far for ensuring that woman students are aware of the needs that will surely arise in their later lives and take a more serious view toward career preparation. Call it preprofessionalism if you will. I know that is a dirty word, but it is what we have always done with male students. There has never been any question at all that is was important to the institution to prepare male students, in the best way it could, to assume their rightful place in society. The Brown charter obligates the university to educate its students so that they may "discharge the offices of life with usefulness and reputation." Woman students should have that same necessity imposed on them by the institution. The question is how do we do it? And how can trustees ensure that it happens in their institutions?

One way you can do it is by ensuring that there is absolute equity of treatment of male and female students in all respects. I wish devoutly that that particular discussion about equity would turn away from coed dorms and living arrangements and focus on more important issues. One very simple measure, unfortunately, is amounts of money spent. The Women's Educational Equity Act, Title IX, should ensure that the resources the institution devotes to a female studentare no greater and no less than those for a male student. I think you are all aware that that has not been true in the past. Athletic opportunities and support of competitive sports are among the central and horrible issues for the Ivy League. In these very hard-pressed institutions, a lot of money is spent on something that is clearly nonacademic but that has added a lot to the universities.

How do you compensate for the kind of opportunity and the chance at developing leadership potential that athletics provides for men? You don't necessarily do it by putting women on the football team. Women may or may not want to have more athletics — we won't know until we try harder to find out. Maybe you should devote that money to extra counseling for women, to ways of making them more aware of what the world is really going to be like when they get out into it and how they could better cope with the problems that are going to come their way.

Equal Expectation

The intellectual and personal treatment woman students receive in the university is by no means always equal. This is a very difficult and sensitive area. If you are a woman and in touch with undergraduates you hear horror stories of trading sexual favors for

academic advancement in one form or another. That is not nearly as rare as I used to think it was. But more important in many ways, is the lack of expectation on the part of faculty members with regard to woman students. They find it very difficult to think of women as their intellectual heirs. Yet, to most faculty members, raising their intellectual heirs is really what teaching in the university is all about, so that male faculty somewhat naturally tend to devote themselves more fully to their male students. They have higher hopes for them and more expectations of long-term reward in the sense that the student will do well and will do them credit. It is small wonder that woman students quickly come to perceive this distinction and are likely to lower their own aspirations accordingly.

Female role models have been mentioned several times as one reason to have more women on the faculty. I believe we need more women on the faculty to be role models for men as well, for male students, faculty, and administrators. We need them to broaden the view faculties take of woman students, improve it, enlarge their vision, and make it possible for them to conceive of women as being intellectual heirs just as men might be.

As trustees, you must make an effort to develop ways of accomplishing ends of this kind. These are rather intangible purposes, and it is a delicate mission. It has to be done without infringing on the legitimate responsibilities of the administration and the legitimate rights and responsibilities of the faculty.

Necessary Change

There is a long list of changes that could be made. One at the top of every list is money. If your particular institution is not in a no-growth situation this year, it will be by 1980. So you might as well look at the problem that way. This means that the scarcer the resources are, the more carefully you have to allocate them. The trustee body has to make a real commitment beyond the facile phrase, "equal opportunity for women and minorities," in order to devote money under those circumstances to special projects for them. At present, the funding level for so-called women's projects (which cover a very wide assortment of activities in this country) runs something like 0.8 percent of all monies spent on education and related programs. That is not a lot, and I think we could safely increase it. Let's say we doubled it to about 1.5 percent. That would take us quite a long way, even for half the total population. The main issue is that the money now spent on education at all levels does not benefit women to nearly the same extent as men.

Some changes need to be made in the way the university presents itself to prospective students, largely through its alumni-alumnae network. I have attended a great many recruiting sessions for prospective students run by alumni groups in which football movies were featured. This is not the way to get the best overall run of students. It is unlikey to attract outstanding women. For example, for the last two years the Harvard-Radcliffe Clubs of Rhode Island have held joint meetings. They showed football movies. This year, recognizing that they might have a problem, they switched to a touch football game. If that sounds like a ridiculous example, be assured that it happens all the time. These institutions have been very male for a very long time. It is very hard for them even to realize when they are stepping on our toes. So we have to learn to tell them in a nice way—because we can't afford to alienate them, and we don't want to.

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Trustees need also to address themselves to the question of how the universities could better develop the leadership potential of their woman students. Being aware of the fact that you can not undo eighteeen years of conditioning in the first semester, there are still many things that could be done differently in terms of counseling, in terms of the general ambiance of the university to make it a less male establishment. Obviously one of the ways to do that, and only one, is to increase women faculty. There are more innovative ways to recruit women faculty than have been pursued so far. For example, the scarcity of woman scientists has been alluded to several times. I chair a panel set-up by the National Academy of Sciences on utilization of women in science and engineering. I can assure you that there are many woman scientists who have never been offered an academic job but who are quite entitled to one. A great many of them actually work in universities already, as research associates, and have for many years. They are as up-to-date as any fresh Ph.Ds; they also have a lot of experience. Most of them have done some teaching because they have been asked to. They are very handy to have around and fill in with, but they have not been given academic appointments. I would submit that people like them are worthy of more serious consideration for tenure appointments than they have received in most places.

Trustee Talent

Another question trustees should concern themselves with is the problem of the legal status of remedial actions; I suggested that there are cases of reverse discrimination in the courts. There is a tremendous amount of legal talent available on boards of trustees, which should be contributed more readily to the universities in their efforts to resolve costly legal problems arising from affirmative action. There are other legal problems, such as setting up special projects to remedy past discrimination, that the courts have in the past held to be valid. Certain existing federal programs for minorities are examples of legal remedial action: one large program is the one for minority scientists in the National Institutes of Health. But somehow when you substitute *women* for *minorities* the whole thing becomes immoral, and you don't do it. That question should be explored further.

Trustees could also initiate more dialogue with faculty members than they do. In my experience, faculty members are dying to talk to trustees. If the particular trustee happens to be interested in questions of equal opportunity, the faculty will talk about equal opportunity. It is your chance to influence, perhaps only one person, but it may be a key person.

Finally, I would like to conclude by stressing that the women who have been interested in advancing women's academic status have not asked for preferential treatment. Nor, to my knowledge, have they received it anywhere. The argument that needs to be made over and over again is that affirmative action is not a plea for preferential treatment: hire me because I'm female; hire me because I'm black or purple or anything else. The argument is that the university needs diversity in those respects as well as in others. All universities have long made efforts to diversify their whole undertaking, their educational offerings and their student bodies. That is the only way to bring in new ideas, after all, and I would submit that bringing in women and bringing in minorities in larger numbers will clearly diversify the enterprise. It will change the enterprise some. I think that won't be all bad.

Legislative Mandates for Affirmative Action

Mary Anne Krupsak
Lieutenant Governor of New York
Cornell University trustee

If the other trustees present are like me, they do not carry around in their heads the state of the art or the state of the law with regard to affirmative action. So perhaps it would be useful to take a minute to identify what we are talking about.

As trustees we should be aware that there are two particular legislative and executive mandates that control university behavior in the area of affirmative action. Executive Order 11246, as amended by Executive Order 11375, requires affirmative action including the requirements for numerical goals and timetables. This applies to all contracts with the federal government over $50,000, which for all intents and purposes means every higher educational institution. We are, therefore, not talking about an area of choice. We are talking about a clear requirement.

Another specific mandate is Title IX of the Education Amendments of 1972. Title IX specifically relates to any institution receiving financial assistance in the area of education, and it specifically defines what *may not* be done and what *must* be done.

Another affirmative action mandate is Title VII of the Civil Rights Act. That title, incidentally, has also generated thousands and thousands of individual complaints. The EEOC, which enforces Title VII, cannot on its own initiative undertake investigation. It can only react to complaints. Therefore, if you wish to take the narrow perspective of a trustee who says, "Well, we are relatively safe from Title VII," that may be so. However, Title IX specifies that the government may initiate on its own any investigation of actions and compliance. The Equal Pay Act also is enforceable, and it is available to individual complainants.

Sources of Legal Information

I am going to refer you to a few good sources that have been useful to me. They will go into detail on some of the points that were made by the previous speaker and others earlier today. I hope I am not anticipating the main speaker too much when I take the stand that, as women trustees, we must remind our universities that we are under legal mandate to take some solid, forward steps in the area of affirmative action. If we do not remind them, who will? Therefore, I believe that the following sources would be useful for you to know about.

Dr. Bernice Sandler, director of the Project on the Status and Education of Women of the Association of American Colleges, has prepared the most comprehensive and well-documented paper I have ever seen on this subject. She appeared before the United States Department of Labor last year and gave a thorough update on the status and history of affirmative action in the universities. The date of her paper is October 1975, so it is current and valuable to have.

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The Project on the Status of Education of Women also has done many useful summary pieces. One, entitled *Federal Laws and Regulations Concerning Sex Discrimination in Educational Institutions*, contains, in chart form, the date the particular law came into being; the institutions covered; what is prohibited; who is exempt, if anybody; who enforces the provisions; how a complaint is made; how to make complaints based on patterns of discrimination; and other worthwhile information.

Another summary of the regulations under Title IX is produced by PEER, the Project on Equal Education Rights, which is a project of NOW legal defense funds, under a grant from the Ford Foundation, to monitor the enforcement programs. This summary is also distributed by the Project on the Status and Education of Women.

From our standpoint, it's important to know the effect of the combination of the executive orders referred to in Title IX. On July 21, 1975, the regulations of Title IX were published, requiring that, within a year, each recipient of federal education aid had to evaluate its current policies and practices to determine whether they were in compliance with Title IX. We have just passed the deadline. Many educational institutions in the country are in violation of the law. If the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, which is required under the terms of this law to enforce Title IX, chose to do so, a large number of colleges and universities, as well as elementary and secondary schools and state departments of education could be denied any federal funds whatsoever. It is as clear as that.

I might also point out that more charges of sex discrimination have been filed against institutions of higher learning than against any other industry in the country. To this day, not one charge of a *pattern* of sex discrimination in a college or university investigated by HEW has ever been refuted.

We all know that ignorance of the law is no defense. If we, as female trustees are going to be be better informed than male trustees on this issue, we have extra burdens on us to be aware that our universities may be in violation of the law and may lose money and government contracts. It is not a question of losing only federal money. Our universities are being subjected daily to litigation and lawsuits that can be exceedingly costly. As university trustees, we may be held responsible for costing our universities unnecessary amounts in litigation, both in terms of legal costs and in terms of damages and backpay. Therefore, we are here not to participate in a pleasant exercise but to examine our responsibilities. We may see a rash of trustee resignations, but I suggest that we have a very strong legal responsibility to be informed and to take some affirmative steps ourselves. The basic thrust of these laws and, indeed, what we are being told by litigation as well, is that at least in the first instance, it is up to us.

Numerical Goals versus Quotas

The executive order tells us that we must have numerical goals and timetables for the achievement of sex equality. Regrettably, the thrust of the dialogue on this subject has concerned the evils of quotas, as though there were some person or some law saying there must be quotas. I see articles all the time, mostly by male faculty members, discussing academic freedom and how we are destroying the quality of education by having all this talk of affirmative action. Just a very quick point: quotas are illegal. To show preference to one sex or one race is illegal. Case law has made that clear. The

laws and regulations have never been mandated quotas. Anyone who suggests that that is a serious issue simply is uninformed.

As I said before, HEW has been designated as the enforcing agency for Title IX and for the affirmative action requirements of the executive order. Some interpreted the HEW clarifying memorandum of 1974 on the subject of goal versus quotas as a withdrawal or a movement away from the commitment to affirmative action. In fact, it was just what it said it was, a clarifying memorandum. The concept of quotas is an anathema. No one has ever to my knowledge — and I speak from having been a legislator and now lieutenant governor — no one has sought quota systems. No one is looking for preferential treatment. The concept of goals is one of setting targets. These are not targets based on the universe of the general population but from the universe of the available people within a certain field.

Dr. Sandler has given this example: The roster of professionals in the Association of Psychologists indicates today that 23 percent of all psychologists are women. This is then the target and the measurable universe against which a university determines whether or not it is in compliance, that is, whether or not approximately 23 percent of the members of its psychology department are women. Few universities can demonstrate in this matter that the percentage of women on their faculties is in the neighborhood of what would normally be expected, given the pool of available talent and no sex discrimination. This normal expectation then becomes the institution's goal.

But goals are not absolutes. Every advantage is being given to the universities to take the intitiative and not be held unreasonably responsible for not being able to comply. If, for example, a university made every reasonable effort and took affirmative steps to advertise, to go beyond the usual recruitment efforts, and showed good-faith attempts to comply with goals and with timetables, that complies with the law right now.

Access to Information

There is a current trend toward open government, toward access to information. This should have existed a long time ago. I am told repeatedly that there are still campuses across this country and, indeed, in our state — and even on these very noble and hallowed grounds — where occasionally women cannot get access to relevant data. Without this freedom of access, women cannot defend their rights; they cannot bring litigation. They cannot do any of the things that the law gives them the right to do unless they have the basic facts.

I believe that as women who are university trustees we ought to be sensitive to this. Right now we have the opportunity, for the regulations spell out very little. We have to have affirmative action plans, numerical goals, and timetables, but we are really very, very blessed by absence of details. We are not told, as some in other settings are, that when they are letting public contracts, they have to take certain steps in certain ways at certain times.

At present, universities are still dealing with regulations in which we are told that universities are in general compliance and are obeying the law if they show good faith. Of course, in our contentment, we can just sit back. But we should not be content! One startling revelation is that higher education has more complaints being filed against it than any other field in our country, any other industry. That says that we do not have the luxury of looking only to

the letter of the law but must instead be doing something very forceful about making these requirements felt throughout the university system.

For instance, there is a very respected tradition of having departments themselves choose their peers and decide which of them get tenure and status in the hierarchy, and even who gets hired in the first place. I suggest that we must not rely on general awareness by persons in various departments; we must not presume that they know our universities are required to take some very strong steps towards an equal place for women. I think we have to become very creative about how we get that message to every college and every committee and every faculty member, because, again, we may very well be held legally responsible if our universities wind up with losses of governmental contracts or very expensive damage suits.

Women are becoming more aware of their rights. There are more and more woman lawyers. There are more and more women who are giving their time to educate people. There are more and more organizations of women's groups sharing information. The sounds on this network are loud and clear. People are finding out more about the law and finding out what their rights are. Therefore, I think that we should know that these timetables, these plans that are required of us, have been accepted already in litigation as preemptive evidence of discrimination. Underutilization puts the burden on the university. The university may, indeed, step forward and attempt to show that there is no pattern of discrimination or that the job criteria for the particular position are such that the position could not be filled by a woman, but I suggest to you that the litigation is producing clearer statements of policy. The trend in the future will be that lawmakers and executives will be called upon to take further steps in the absence of voluntary compliance. I think it would be a shame for us to come to the point where we are told in some section of the law of our respective states that we have to advertise three times in fourteen papers for five weeks in a row. But if we do not do it ourselves, if we do not recognize that that's precisely what we must begin to do, then we're going to be confronted with that kind of detailed legislation.

The trends toward freedom of information at state legislative levels, at executive levels, and in Washington put a burden on the chief executive officers of universities to start to act in a different fashion, so that people are not forced to get court orders to allow access to valuable and necessary information. Rather, there should be a good-faith effort to produce the data willingly. These goals, these timetables, these plans are now required. The plans themselves and the data necessary to evaluate them ought to be made available as soon as possible. We should have nothing to hide. Speaking now as both a trustee and a government official, I see our obligation clearly. We owe it to ourselves, to the charge that we, as trustees and as decent people, have to obey the law and to move forward in an affirmative fashion.

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FIPSE's Response to Affirmative Action

Alison Bernstein
Fund for the Improvement of Post-Secondary Education, United States Department of Health, Education, and Welfare

The Fund for the Improvement of Post-Secondary Education is, by Washington's standards, very small, and in this day and age, small is beautiful. The fund was authorized by the Education Amendments of 1972, the legislation that contained Title IX. Our mission, the reason we were created, is to improve the quality of education for all persons beyond high school. The fund is a semiautonomous agency in HEW that reports to the assistant secretary for education rather than the commissioner of education. This distinction may not sound important, but it is. It protects our small budget of $11.5 million from a lot of bureaucratic red tape.

Those of you who know Washington lingo know that there is usually a difference between the amount authorized for an agency and its final appropriation. We were authorized $100 million, and in our first year of operation we were given a $10 million appropriation. Given that history, naturally we think small is beautiful. We didn't have an alternative! There are twelve professionals on our staff, six of whom are women, including the director, Dr. Virginia Smith.

While I believe that the government must aggressively enforce affirmative action goals and timetables for women and minorities in educational institutions, this enforcement role has often meant that HEW ignored implementing affirmative action within its own agen-

cies. One of the things we strive to do at the fund, not only in the grants we give but in the ways we operate, is to uncover those not-so-subtle and lasting evidences of sexual discrimination. For example, we have an evaluation procedure in which we invite people to read and evaluate proposals submitted to us. Three years ago, no one particularly pushed for equal numbers of male and female readers. Readers were selected on the basis of old-boy recommendations. Since then, we have made an effort to identify woman readers. Once we became sensitive to the issue, they were easy to find. In fact, one member of our staff recently came to the director with a problem: "I'm terribly upset," he said. "I'm organizing a reading site in Chicago, and I have 55 percent woman evaluators." He never worried when he had 55 percent men, but he was worried at this new turn of events. Obviously, we still have a long way to go.

The fund has a fifteen-member board of advisors, five of whom are women. Now that is not great, but two years ago when I was asked to review the number of women on federal advisory councils in HEW, I found that the Advisory Council on Breast Cancer in the National Institutes of Health did not have one woman! I raise these points because it is important not only to see the visible question of affirmative action with regard to employment but also to see its implications in a more general context. Putting women on advisory councils and making them consultants can also improve the status of women and their access to decision-making roles.

Mandate to Improve Postsecondary Education

The fund has a very broad mandate to improve postsecondary education. In the last three years, we have received almost seven thousand proposals, of which we have funded approximately three hundred. I am sorry to say that we have never received a proposal entitled "Affirmative Action and Tenure: Dealing with the Bottleneck." We all know that women have acquirmd the credentials and the competencies but can not move into the senior academic ranks. We have never received a proposal that offered some solutions to the problem of overtenured white male departments, so that affirmative action can become more than a revolving door for women and minorities. So when you asked me to talk about funding and affirmative action, I decided to share a few strategies that more subtly and indirectly address the issue of affirmative action.

Funding Strategies of FIPSE

In one recent study, women in the professoriate were asked which activity they preferred, teaching or scholarship? The women interviewed said they preferred to teach. When you are an agency interested in the improvement of postsecondary education, you find yourself encouraging people who are interested in improving teaching, curriculum, the learning environment, not to mention opening up educational opportunities to traditionally bypassed students: minorities, workers, the homebound, the elderly, and geographically isolated persons. Improvements supported by the fund focus on learning and the needs of learners. Not surprisingly, we find that our emphasis on learner-centered improvement usually uncovers female reformers. Women comprise nearly a third of all our project directors; they are directing efforts in faculty development, lifelong learning, resource sharing, curriculum revision, and field-based in-

terships. We have found that efforts that unfreeze and examine academic policies and patterns, such as who should go to school, what should be taught and by whom, give additional visibility to women who are frequently on the periphery of academic respectability—who are surviving from day to day on soft money, or grants, or in continuing education programs that must be self-sufficient. Many traditional departments will not recognize these women's contributions, and the few departments that do have no permanent slots to offer. But at least the efforts receive attention, and the women receive visibility through these nontraditional funding patterns.

Often we scrutinize proposals to identify the individual who has primary responsibility for the project. There is an insidious pattern in funding in which men sign on as project directors and then woman "associates" do 90 percent of the work. If this appears to be the case when we are negotiating the grant, we attempt to change the project director.

One way to get at affirmative action indirectly on your campuses is by encouraging the examination of the assumptions about teaching and learning. Let me give you an illustration. When Wesleyan University became coeducational, Sheila Tobias was asked to monitor the transition. She quickly realized that the woman students were not taking mathematics courses or majors in the same proportions as the men. She was familiar with research done at Berkeley by Lucy Sells that indicated that when women do not take mathematics in their freshman year, they severely limit their career options by limiting their choice of majors. For example, at Berkeley twenty-nine major fields of study require calculus as a prerequisite. Sheila submitted a proposal on math anxiety to the fund two years ago. Some of you probably have heard that Sheila's efforts have had a tremendous impact both at Wesleyan and throughout higher education. A half-dozen math clinics have emerged on other campuses in the last year. These clinics are encouraging women to overcome whatever obstacles, academic deficiencies, and psychological hangups they have about mathematics. The project is not an official affirmative action effort, but when I heard Dr. Hornig point out the need for women to get into science and professional fields, it seemed to me that this strategy might be worth replicating on your campuses.

A woman at Purdue University was also concerned about the retention of women in nontraditional, i.e., "male," professions. Two years ago she received a small grant from the fund to intensify support services to women who had elected to pursue engineering degrees but were not persisting through graduation. She implemented group and individual counseling and tutoring programs. The project has been evaluated, and she was able to demonstrate that, with additional counseling, the women stayed. Both the Wesleyan and Purdue grants were made to enhance educational and career options for women and, as such, can be thought of as affirmative action efforts.

Some of you might be interested in knowing that one of your colleagues in attendance at this conference has received a grant from the fund. Ruth Ekstrom, a Brown trustee and a psychologist with the Educational Testing Service at Princeton, is developing and field-testing instruments to help women describe volunteer experiences and experiences as homemakers. The women take these instruments to colleges and universities where their experiences, knowledge, and competencies are then assessed and legitimized through the awarding of academic credit. Dr. Ekstrom was

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prompted to apply for the grant and work in this area because she believed that the education women have received in nonpaid jobs deserved to be taken seriously. The important question was not *where* one learns something but rather *what* is learned. This project can be seen as affirmative action because it seeks to help women receive recognition for their competencies, even if those competencies have been acquired in nontraditional ways.

There is a fad in postsecondary education called faculty development. I am not really sure I know what it means, although I suppose the goal is to make faculty better teachers and scholars. I sometimes think it is a way to put the lid on faculty displeasure with the conditions of employment. Nevertheless, faculty development can be used to help women break into upper-level ranks. For example, we gave a grant to Macalester College in Minnesota to revise their sabbatical system so that faculty interested in leaving academe for a semester or a year could take a job related to their areas of academic expertise. Many of the professors found that they preferred life on the outside. We found that one of the results, an unintended result, of the Macalester project was that it opened up jobs on the campus. Faculty development projects at other institutions also have developed procedures for posttenure review. A number of private foundations are also supporting faculty development activities. This area might be something to consider as you look for ways to make affirmative action more effective on your campus.

Requirement for Institutional Commitment

Now I want to turn for a moment to the problems of funding proposals related directly or indirectly to affirmative action and women. Our record as a funding agency is good, but we have problems. We must rely on field-initiated proposals. So if you are not thinking boldly about this issue, we can not fund new efforts. Another problem is that we give relatively small grants. The average size is between fifty and eighty thousand dollars per year. This policy stems from our belief that improvements are not made in Washington and that projects worth funding must matter to the institution proposing the improvement. When a proposal is submitted to the fund, it is evaluated on the basis of institutional commitment. Is the institution receiving money for a project committed to institutionalizing the effort beyond the expiration of the grant? Many women's projects are important and necessary at the institutional level, but they have little support from senior administrators. We find ourselves in a very uncomfortable position: we recognize the importance of the women's studies project or the need for a women's center, but we realize that the politics of the campus are such that the project will not survive. I think this is where trustees can help. If there is support from the very top in terms of long-range planning and directives to the administration to support institutionalizing improvements for women staff, students, and faculty, then proposals may have better chances of getting funded.

Another area where I wish the fund had a better track record is leadership development. Clearly, one way to improve postsecondary education is to help find more competent leaders at all levels of decision making. It comes, I hope, as no surprise to you, that women and minorities are *under*presented at the higher levels of academic administration. We have received one or two proposals over the last three years that focused on creating institutes for women to learn administration and management. Our problem

with these requests has been our suspicion that males still get the jobs even though they do not receive this kind of training or have particular competencies required for the job. The institute becomes yet another hurdle that must be jumped, and there is no evidence that the additional skills and competencies acquired will help women who wish to move up through administrative ranks. We do not know what to do with this problem, but I raise it hoping that you might find a solution and submit a proposal.

Ideas for Future Proposals

I want to conclude my remarks on a positive note and encourage you to seek foundation support to improve your institution's response to women, not just from FIPSE but from private and public sources. Here are a few ideas concerning affirmative action that you might want to consider. One is the development of procedures to reward early retirement of tenured faculty. Some schools are experimenting with this without federal money, but there may be money available for that strategy. Another possibility is the consortium approach to joint appointments of faculty. One of the fund's grants went to the Five College Consortium in Massachusetts to provide matching funds to hire a woman faculty member to teach women's studies — I believe she is even on a tenure track! A third way to free up the academic marketplace if your institution cannot afford to increase the number of faculty is to provide for shared appointments between male and female faculty. Some institutions have already established policies for husbands and wives to share one appointment, but why must one be married to benefit from a shared appointment? Finally, you might consider using your own trustee organization to apply for funds to educate other trustees about women, affirmative action, and academic employment. You could become an arm of the Association of Governing Boards or strike out on your own. If you want to become a political advocate — notice I did not say lobby group — you might use the National Women's Political Caucus (NWPC) as your model. Each election year the NWPC identifies the woman candidates and advocates for them. In addition, the NWPC works for the appointment of women to high-ranking political jobs. You might consider promoting women for academic leadership positions with the same fervor, and you may achieve similar success.

To encourage women to think about reforming education, even if it does not have to do exclusively with women, always has the benefit of adding to the pool of qualified women that become known. Our project directors become consultants to other projects. One woman who received a grant from us to do an evaluation was then given a grant by the Ford Foundation to do another evaluation of another project. These unintended benefits continue to give yeast and leaven to the raising of our consciousness of women's abilities by increasing the numbers of women who are available for jobs and positions.

The fund is special in that its process is open and highly competitive. We can give grants to all kinds of organizations delivering or involved in the delivery of postsecondary education. This means that even trustees can apply. Student government associations can apply. Individual faculty members can apply to work on just one course or on redesigning the entire undergraduate or graduate curriculum. Eligibility for an award is not restricted. What we look for is the quality of the response to the problem you are addressing and whether you intend to make that response a lasting improvement.

A Handy, Dandy, Quick and Practical Checklist for Woman Trustees

Mary Rowe
Special Assistant to the President and Chancellor for Women and Work, Massachusetts Institute of Technology

There are certain risks inherent in an MIT person giving a case study to the Ivy League. I am reminded of the story of the time when Ivy League students went traveling with an MIT student overseas and ran afoul of the laws of a foreign country. They were all sentenced to death by the guillotine. One by one the Ivy League students went up to the guillotine. The guillotine started down each time and got stuck. And one by one the Ivy League students were pardoned by the monarch of that country, who thought it was an act of God and they should be let go. Then came the MIT student, who lay down under the guillotine. But *he* lay down face-up and said, "You know, if you'd just fix that second screw. . . ."

In spite of the pitfalls of presenting a case study to the Ivy League, especially since nobody knows what the future will hold, I would like to talk about two things. The first is a major problem we have. The second is a handy, dandy, quick and practical checklist for woman trustees — what to do about your own institution.

First, our own major equal opportunity problem; a problem that troubles us a lot and one on which we have made extremely little progress, is minority women. There is some good news and some bad news on this subject. The good news is that we have had an infinite increase in the number of minority women on our faculty. We now have one. She is a tenured full professor and a very distinguished woman. But the bad news is that she is only one on a faculty of more than eight hundred fifty. That bothers us a lot. If you look at most ranks in most institutions in the Ivy League and at MIT and figure the proportion of women to men, and the proportion of minorities to nonminorities, you can calculate an index of inherited racism and sexism or of inherited inequality of opportunities for women and for minorities. Then multiply them together. You may find fewer minority women than you would expect if *both* racism and sexism were operating only "normally." Or, if you do not want to think in terms of inherited discrimination, then, fewer minority women than you would expect, if the unequal opportunities for minorities and females had been operating only "normally." So much for our major problem. If I speak only briefly on this subject, it is only because of the hour. We are indeed very concerned about this question throughout the institute, for every pay classification and for all levels of students.

How to Rate an Administration

My second subject is a handy, dandy checklist: what to do if you're a woman trustee. The first thing has to do with your top administration: you need a good one, and therefore you need to find out if you have a good one. If you do not have a good one, nothing will work. What kinds of things would a good president and a good top

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administration do? One way you can recognize the good ones is that there is not a "we and they" atmosphere in the discussions of minorities and women, rather, an attitude that equal opportunity is our interest and everyone's interest. If you get a sense of shared interest, "our interests overlap those of minorities and women," you know from the outset that you are dealing with good people. A second way to recognize a good top administration is that they will choose good department heads and a good personnel director, people who are similarly committed to equal opportunity. This happens when a good president finds out, before he appoints people, how they feel about equal opportunity. The third way to recognize a committed administration is that they will take extensive personal interest in all the equal opportunity events on campus.

I was reminded of this last point vividly, yesterday, when a major black leader came to talk at a supervisory training program at Lincoln Laboratory at MIT. In thanking the very distinguished head of that huge laboratory, with its thousands of people, the visitor said, "You know, it really matters to me that the laboratory director stayed here throughout the two hours of this discussion. Usually a top administrator will introduce me and then go." So if your president and if your top administration are actually present where equal opportunity and affirmative action and recruitment and serious search are discussed, that is one way to tell you have got a good administration.

Finally, a good president and a good administration will take every opportunity they can to monitor abuse and to teach about equality. It is unbelievable what one white male can do to clean up his surroundings with respect to equal opportunity.

Routine Monitoring Functions

Another major item in my handy checklist would have to do with monitoring equal opportunity in employment. You should check for careful promotional analyses and salary equity reviews. If your in-

stitution is doing aggregated, statistical, salary equity reviews, every year for every pay classification, and also promotional analyses, you have come a long way.

Promotional analyses should be done for every group: staff, secretaries, faculty, research people. For every rank or grade, you should ask, "What is the average age at promotion, the average educational background, the average size of the budget overseen, the average number of employees supervised at promotion, for women and men, minorities and nonminorities? What was the salary before and after promotion by sex and race?" To give you an indication of our concern at MIT, several years ago when we did an early promotional analysis of some staff promotions, we found the average woman at promotion, was eight years older and had one more degree than the average man and that the salary gap between men and women actually *widened* after promotion. During four intervening years, despite a severe budget crunch, those gaps have been largely wiped out. I do not think they were wiped out by reverse discrimination but rather through the promotion of very able women available for the few administrative staff positions that in fact became available through normal attrition and turnover. The women "found" themselves because the institution of a well-monitored posting system. If you, as trustees, and there are no promotional analyses, you will not know if there are gaps. If your institution isn't doing analyses, it should be.

The same is true with respect to salary analyses. Do you have any systematic gaps in salary between men and women or minorities and nonminorities of the same age, rank, and job classification? In these analyses, the institution may want to control for age, for merit ratings, for education, for numbers of publications; you may control for any reasonable thing you want to. However, if you aren't doing any such analyses in a private institution, I think I could guarantee you that you have serious wage gaps by sex and race. Moreover, these analyses need to be done at least once a year for every pay classification. I say this because I believe that all non-civil-service salary systems go 5 percent out of whack every year. I will call this Rowe's First Law of Salary Equity. The out-of-whack-ness occurs so rapidly in non-civil-service salary systems because in flexible systems there is always a certain amount of disagreement about what constitutes equity in the first place, and small differences in judgment quickly aggregate into systematic gaps.

To underscore what a previous speaker said about legal liability, Rowe's First Law means that anybody who could successfully get your salary data out in court, and do systematic analyses, is certain to find problems unless you have been doing equity reviews. Salary problems are as ubiquitous as dust in a household. The only way to maintain equity is continuously to review. I raise this point because I meet counterparts who say, "Yes, we've done an equity review, we did it in 1974 when we filed our plan." I know that, according to Rowe's First Law, that salary system is likely to be 10 percent out of whack, already, just through normal problems.

There are some other things you could do routinely with respect to salary equity, which I'll skip over because of lack of time, but if you aren't doing *anything* in this area, routinely and monitored very carefully, you can be nearly certain that you have problems that are not only immoral but illegal.

Another major item a woman trustee could look out for has to do with another formal method of monitoring affirmative action and equal opportunity: do you have an affirmative action plan and nonunion grievance procedures? Does everybody know about

them? This is, of course, a silly question. I can guarantee you everybody will not know. Most people in the institution will barely know the president's name. It's no great shakes if everyone doesn't know about the plan and the grievance procedure, but you can do something about helping people to find them if they want to.

If you investigate and find there is no distribution of your affirmative action plan or of the nonunion grievance procedure in your institution, you know you have a problem. You have a still worse problem if there is no plan and no grievance procedure. Many places don't have a smoothly working grievance procedure. I say this with great humility because while I think we have a good plan, our nonunion grievance procedure is still forming itself. It has changed, and changed, and changed again over the last several years.

Grievance Procedures

Our own views of grievance procedures are, first, that they ought to be swift. If things are taking longer than a couple of weeks for an initial answer, you know there are problems. Second, we think that until the end of the line, nonunion procedures should be reasonably redundant so that most people have more than one resource or person to go to. Third, if the grievance procedure does not contain any women or minorities, you know from the outset you have serious problems. And fourth, if, as you wander through the institution you find that most people think that confidences are not being held, you know you have problems. A good grievance procedure is confidential up to the point where action will be taken.

What kinds of things does a good grievance procedure turn up? How does it help with equal opportunity? Like the previous speakers, I would like to address my illustrations to that age-old question: Are women really being treated fairly or must we reverse discriminate in order to get a reasonable number of women on a faculty, for instance? My own view is that we are no where near needing to reverse discriminate because we have never tried equal opportunity. I say this from the vantage point of sitting in an office where hundreds of equal opportunity problems come in. I would like to illustrate some of them.

For instance, in an unnamed prestigious university in Massachusetts, there was an ad hoc committee convened to see whether a distinguished woman scientist should be given a tenured position. During that process, the distinguished woman dropped in to see me and said, "Mary, will you look at this reference?" As referees will, one of her referees had sent her a copy of the reference that he had sent in to the ad hoc committee (although of course this was not done openly). It said, "Jane Doe is the foremost woman archaeologist in the world. Yes, I do believe that she will become one of the women in the world to contribute most to the field of archaeology." Jane was very upset. She said, "What am I going to do? You know, all I need to wreck my reputation is to call me the best woman archaeologist going." I said, "Jane, if you don't write back to this referee, nobody else can really handle this problem."

So she did write back, and the referee said, "Jane, old kid, I was responding appropriately to the letter of solicitation." He sent her a copy of this letter. It said, "Would you please tell us how Jane Doe ranks among women archaeologists in the world?" And the solicitation letter went on, saying, "How does she rank among women?" "Will she contribute more than any other woman?" It was evident

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that the standard letter of solicitation had been changed, substituting *woman* for *man* at every point in the letter. It also ended with a wonderful paragraph that said, "Would you tell us in detail the nature of your association with this woman?"

I remember another incident, a time when God was clearly on my side. I was trying to persuade a lab director that references could be a serious problem, and he said, "Oh no, our references are terrific." Then he said, "Look, give me the name of anybody. I'll just haul out her dossier and we'll look in it." I said, "Okay," not actually expecting anything. But he pulled out, at his first try, the dossier of a woman scientist, in which the top reference, written when she came to employment at MIT years ago, said, "You can hire her if you want, but really I'd rather have her body than her mind." She, by the way, has a spectacular figure. She also has a good mind, and it happens that I was able in this one fortuitous instance — we didn't go through any other files! — to find a vivid example of what I was talking about. Yes, if you have a good, hard-working grievance procedure, you will find all kinds of ways in which the ordinarily white male atmosphere is in fact tilted against women and minorities.

Value of Informal Processes

My last point has to do with informal grievance procedures, something that just sprang up at MIT. You may ask why informal procedures of the kind that I will describe are necessary. You should remember that I spoke about working with a good top administration. The better your top administration, the *more* you are going to need informal networks. The reason is that nobody misbehaves around a good president. So if you are blessed with a good university president, you can guess for a certainty that he, because of his rectitude, or she, because of her uprightness, knows less about the pathology of your institution than anybody else. Everybody will behave around that person. At MIT it has happened that we have a fair number of minority groups and women's groups scattered around the institution, organized on every conceivable basis, functionally and geographically. There are the Women of Information Processing, the Women of Lincoln Lab, the Women Faculty, the Women Staff, the women of this building, the women of that building. Some groups are for faculty or research staff or secretaries; some are only one pay classification; some are vertically organized. At any given time, there are perhaps twenty-five such groups on the campus, loosely linked together in an advisory group appointed by the president. They provide upward feedback to the top, and they have a fascinating effect on the environment around them.

I recall, for instance, the beginning of one group in a department where there seemed to be endless complaints. The women streamed in to my office from that department with all kinds of trouble and concern and pain. The turnover rate was high, for professionals and others. Finally, in desperation — this was early in my career at MIT — I said, "You know, why don't you get together and talk about these problems?" So the women invited all the other women in their department to lunch on the following Thursday. Before the meeting, three of the male top managers of that department came to my office and said, "What are they doing?" And I said, "I don't know. I think they're getting together to talk."

For the following six weeks the women of that department got together at lunch time to try to decide whether or not they wanted to go on meeting with each other. And the men cleaned up their

house. Initially the women did practically nothing except get together for lunch and talk, so far as I know, but the level of abuse dropped very sharply. That taught me a lesson about the value of people getting together in a responsible way.

Other groups that have continued to meet have done all kinds of things. A large number of woman faculty, students, research staff, and administrative staff got together to study women in athletics, for instance. Their report has produced important changes. Some women's groups have done studies of subtle racism and sexism within their departments, usually with a cover letter signed by the department head. Nothing is so useful in convincing dinosaurs about subtle discrimination as these reports, because they bring together many different instances of problems, in such a way that one can begin to see how, in the aggregate, they will really affect the lives of minorities and women within any given working environment.

These informal groups take care of a lot of small problems, which then do not have to come to an administration. They cool out the fanatics among women and minorities. That is, they have a tendency to centralize around responsible issues. They can do an enormous amount to help you have an effective equal opportunity environment. Of course they also have a strong tendency, as do the salary equity reviews and every one of these mechanisms, to improve the environment for white males. I think, therefore, that anything you can do to support formal and informal procedures that responsibly deal with equal opportunity, the more improvement you will see in your institutions.

I would like to finish by telling you an old joke that I used to tell and my daughter's reaction to it. When I first came to MIT, I asked a friend what affirmative action was all about. He said, "Mary, it's like the mating of elephants. It goes on in high places, there's an enormous amount of trumpeting, and nothing happens for four years." My fourteen-year-old daughter heard me telling this and said, "You know, that's a male chauvinist's view of pregnancy."

It has occurred to me that maybe some of our discouragement in these first four years of affirmative action has to do with watching a gestation period. We are just about to see the infant come forth, so it is not time yet to give up hope.

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Address

Judith T. Younger

The Role and Contributions of Woman Trustees and Administrators

in Achieving Affirmative Action and Everything Else

Judith T. Younger
Professor of law and deputy dean
Cornell Law School

The program for this conference has gone through a series of changes in the period from its conception to its birth. Speakers, topics, and format have shifted. Here I stand. I am the final selection for the Friday night, eight o'clock spot. As speaker, I have no idea of my relative standing. Was I the best? Was I the worst? Was I the product of affirmative action perfectly practiced or affirmative action perverted?

I have more confidence about the relative standing of the final speech topic. The first tentative program listed it as "What's Happening in the Business World?" The next billed it as "The Role and Contribution of Trustees in Achieving Affirmative Action." Both of those topics were attached to male speakers. The last title announced, "The Role and Contribution of *Woman* Trustees in Achieving Affirmative Action," appeared next. It was the first attached to a female speaker. I am about to give you the final version. Having changed it myself, I am sure it is best. With your permission I will speak on "The Role and Contribution of *Woman* Trustees *and Administrators* in Achieving Affirmative Action *and Everything Else*." In talking about roles and contributions, we are really talking about models, that is, what models of behavior we trustees and administrators who happen to be women should follow, avoid, work to create, or destroy. Our answer to the question is terribly important. We are moving into boardrooms, deans', provosts', vice provosts', presidents', and vice presidents' offices in increasing numbers. We are climbing slowly, and sometimes painfully, nearer to the top of organizational charts. The models we choose as we make the ascent will have a tremendous impact on those who follow behind us. I see our choices as the key to their later achievements.

Those who come behind us will accomplish what we expect them to accomplish, what we tell them they can accomplish, what we show them they can accomplish, and what they, therefore, believe they can accomplish. Those who come behind us will accomplish these things by the methods we expect them to use, tell them they can use, show them we use, and that they, therefore, believe will succeed.

Thus, the question of the roles we woman trustees and administrators should follow, avoid, work to create or destroy, and the contributions we woman trustees and administrators should applaud, strive to make, criticize or shun, is crucial.

Whistle Blowing

I would like to focus on one particular role and contribution. I call it whistle blowing. I would like to assess its suitability for woman trustees and administrators and apply it to affirmative action. Before I begin, I feel an obligation to answer the obvious threshold question that is posed by the calling of this conference and the choice of topic for this speech: "By becoming trustees, deans, presidents, vice presidents, provosts, and vice provosts, haven't we irrevocably chosen our models?" In other words, "Don't our job titles sufficiently spell out our duties, obligations, the bounds of our permissible conduct, and the limits of our legitimate concern?"

I must confess that my answer to the question has not always been firm. From the time I entered law school until about thirteen years ago, I felt sure of the answer. Then, I would have said, "Yes, being a trustee or vice president or deputy dean or a provost disposes of the matter. There is nothing unique about femaleness." My heroes at the time were William the Conqueror, Harold Ickes, Cardinal Richelieu, Julius Caesar — great administrators. I thought of myself as a promising young man possibly destined to surpass all of them.

I have since learned otherwise. My change of mind was not a rational process. In 1963 I became pregnant. I soon had a daughter. It required no thought thereafter for me to see that my first answer was wrong.

Titles do not dispose of the matter of models. Women, whatever their titles, are different. We are beneficiaries of a singular biological advantage. We are female, rather than male. That endowment carries special moral responsibilities and underscores the need to carve out our own models.

Let me try to relate all this to the role I advocate for us: women as whistle blowers. By whistle blower I mean one who disagrees with what she sees going on around her and who disassociates herself from it so that she is free to tell the story. By blowing the whistle, she hopes to stop the offensive conduct. Her actions are the opposite of what we colloquially refer to as playing ball. What of whistle blowing? Is it a model that becomes us or one to be relegated to the closet? I think it is eminently wearable, even flattering. Specifically, I see three things to recommend it. First, it is plain that men are neglecting it. They do not often blow the whistle. *Resignation in Protest*, a recent book by Edward Weisband and Thomas M. Franck[1] is replete with examples and statistics. For the most part, men in public office, when faced with unbearable misgivings about what they see going on around them, choose either to close their eyes and stay on, or to resign, swallow hard, and silently go their ways. I do not state this as criticism but merely as recorded fact. I am sure the explanation is, at least in part, one of economics. There are risks in

whistle blowing that men, as traditional breadwinners, may not feel they can afford to take. Second, women are particularly well suited to blowing the whistle. It requires the aptitudes and skills we have been encouraged to develop. We have traditionally been encouraged to grow up considering the welfare and comfort of others, to be observant of, sensitive and responsive to, human needs and feelings. And so we are. This makes us good at detecting wrongs, corruption, or unethical behavior in their earliest stages. It makes us well able to assess the need for, and appropriateness of, blowing the whistle on such evils in specific situations and sensitive enough to time the blowing so that it is likely to do the most good. What is more, we have been trained to blow the whistle unrelentingly against unvanquishable foes like hunger, dirt, and the effects of friction on clothes. These ordinary housekeeping battles, fought through cooking, cleaning, and mending, demand tremendous strength, endurance, and conviction, since the enemies, once vanquished, always reappear — so, of course, do wrongdoing, corruption, and unethical conduct.

Third, we owe whistle blowing to the world because of our special endowment as women. Despite the fact that we now have prospects similar to those long enjoyed by men, good jobs, titles, good salaries, promotions, power, we can not relegate whistle blowing to the closet. As more doors open for us in this and other professions, we, who know so well what it is like to be left out, have to ask ourselves, in Virginia Woolf's words, "here and now, do we wish to join that procession, or don't we? On what terms shall we join that procession? Above all, where is it leading us, the procession of educated men?"[5]

Mrs. Woolf's advice to women was to enter the procession but only on certain conditions. The first she proposed was "You shall swear that you will do all in your power to insist that any woman who enters any profession shall in no way hinder any other human being, whether man or woman, white or black, provided that he or she is qualified to enter that profession, from entering it, but shall do all in her power to help them."[6]

Was she talking about affirmative action? I suspect she would have applauded the concept but found the practice deplorable. The concept, of course, is to open opportunity to groups that historically, for reasons unrelated to merit, have been denied it. The practice, however, often results in reverse discrimination and waste of resources.

Poor Practice of Affirmative Action

Let me detail some of what I perceive to be the worst abuses. Faculty reaction to affirmative action in admitting students and in recruiting colleagues: academics are unused to working under pressures to produce results identified in terms of race or sex. When these are imposed on them by government officials or others, their primary reaction is to get rid of the pressures as fast as they possibly can. In admissions, I have seen their reaction take the form of accepting the very first batch of applicants who bear the right label, be it black, Spanish-surnamed, native American, female, or oriental, without any attempt to recruit or find those more qualified or, at the least, those who are qualified enough to make it through. Persons so admitted often suffer from deep skills deficiencies that make it doubly hard for them to do the work. This, of course, could be predicted by any admissions committee that carefully inspected their records. It is often ignored, however, in the rush to show com-

pliance with affirmative action precepts and progress toward affirmative action goals. The results are disastrous. Few schools have programs that, in the course of study, can cure the ordinary skills deficiencies of ordinary students, much less the deficiencies of those who need special help. Too often for such students, the end is failure and a ruined life or else what I call passing through. The faculty closes its eyes and passes such students on to graduation; the graduates become, to all the world, doctors, engineers, or lawyers. But by what standards? In the meantime, others better qualified have been kept out.

I have seen faculties react in the same kind of frenzied way to the pressures of affirmative action in recruiting their own colleagues. They extend invitations to visit campus to candidates with the right labels though they have absolutely no intention of hiring them. They are merely making an affirmative action record. Throughout, they fully intend to hire a wrong-label candidate who may or may not be qualified. This is, of course, a disservice to the candidates brought up for the record, a denigration of the principle behind affirmative action, and a waste of university resources. Alternatively, the faculty reacts just like its admissions committee. "Let's get these affirmative action people off our backs," it says. To do so, it rushes out and hires the first properly labeled candidate who appears on the horizon, without much regard for credentials, subject matter expertise, teaching ability, or the like. The faculty is willing to sacrifice quality for instant relief from nagging! Once the nagging is stemmed, the faculty relaxes on its new statistics. The facts that it has discriminated against more qualified candidates, whatever their labels, and done a grave disservice to its students are ignored. Both are results that affirmative action, in theory, never intended. Further, affirmative action implemented in these ways is having its effect on candidates themselves. They are finding it much easier to trade on their sex, race, or surnames than to teach, research, and write.

What is it I would have us woman trustees and administrators do? Recognize the dangers of affirmative action in practice and blow the whistle. Taking a leaf from the New York Court of Appeals in *Avery v. Downstate Medical Center*,[4] let us insist, first on specifying the purpose of our affirmative action policies and programs; second, on fixing a time for reviewing their effects; third, on actually reviewing those effects; fourth, on terminating the policies and programs because they have achieved their purposes or because they have not. If we find they have, let us offer ourselves congratulations. If we find they have not, let us return to Virginia Woolf's first condition and start anew, not with a revised affirmative action program but with a different approach. Let us launch a program whose goal, like that of affirmative action, is true equality of opportunity but whose application and achievement depend not on reverse discrimination but rather on us and our own efforts: a program that requires us to learn and practice independence, self-reliance, self-esteem, one that places responsibility for individual successes or failures where it belongs, squarely on our own shoulders. Such a self-generated program can succeed in our present legal system because the system is now relatively benign in terms of race and sex. To embark on it, however, requires strength and courage. I hope we rise to the occasion. I hope we do it. I wish us luck.

1. *Segregation in Protest*. New York: Citadel Publishers, 1975.
2. *Three Guineas*. The Hogarth Press, 1938, p. 143.
3. Ibid, p. 121.
4. 39 N.Y.2d 326 (1976).

Workshops

Woman Trustees and Decision Making

Jean Howard
Presentor

Leaders
Jean Howard
Brown University
Patricia Carry Stewart
Cornell University

Recorder
Adele Wells
Cornell University

Our discussion was a wide-ranging and very fruitful one. I am going to summarize our findings under three headings. First, we discussed how we can get women on boards, on key committees, and help them become thoroughly oriented once they are on those boards so that they can maximize their effectiveness as decision makers. It seems that many boards have certain key committees, certain positions where decisions are made most often. We have to get women on those committees. That may mean the first thing to do is get an effective woman on the committee for committees. Then women have to lobby for the assignments that they want. They cannot be content with the committee on arrangements for graduation. If you do not have women with certain crucial skills on your board, those women have to be identified, recruited, and installed on the board. We may have to set up an old-girl network so that we can identify women in business and finance who can take their positions gracefully and easily on such board committees as budget and finance.

In order to maximize the effectiveness of women's input on boards, we should utilize woman trustees emeritae who have served so well, gained expertise and experience, and who are too often shelved once they leave the board. We should also institute some sort of formal or informal orientation period for new trustees so that they learn the ropes as quickly as possible. A formal two-day orientation session may not be the best way to do this since it may be too abstract and impersonal. Perhaps one role for each woman on board would be to take charge of new trustees; tell them where the formal power lies, where the informal power structures and key committees are, so they do not spend their first year listening, making mistakes, and trying to find out the lay of the land. That was our first area of consideration: how to get women into places where they can be effective and give effective input.

Second, we talked at great length about cultivating the behavior that will lead to effective decision making in regard to all aspects of university life. We all agreed that we should not be concerned exclusively with women's issues, that we should be concerned with all aspects of the university life because they all ultimately impinge on the women who teach and work and are educated at our respective universities.

One way to cultivate effective decision-making behavior is to keep contact with the university community at large. That means not merely accepting the reports that are given to us at several annual meetings but trying as effectively as we can to keep in contact with faculty, student, and alumni concerns so that we can bring them to the board. By doing this we will also have an outside source of information to compare. Second, we should help to set the priorities for issues that the board will consider; that is, we may

want to request special reports be instituted every year dealing with matters that concern us, perhaps affirmative action or other matters. What we can effectively talk about in a meeting is largely determined by the shape of the agenda and the routine that has been established. We have to help establish those agendas and set the board's own priorities.

Third, we should not be concerned merely with criticism and whistle blowing, although those are important, but also with positive reinforcement of behavior that we find perfectly logical. If our university is making strides in certain areas, let us be sure that we give our administrators the approval they deserve for making those strides before we say "and next, we want these ten things done, too." We should be positive reinforcers as well as critics. And, finally, we should not be concerned exclusively with women's issues but with all areas of the university. Often we can piggyback women's issues on top of our concerns with other issues within the university.

Fourth, we focused more narrowly on how we can be effective advocates for women's issues on the board. As has been said many times in this conference, we simply have to insist that due process is observed and that the laws are complied with. We have to be able to ask effective questions of those officers of the university whose jobs are to see that the laws and guidelines are implemented. We should do all we can to dispel the erroneous notion that affirmative action and academic excellence are somehow at odds. They are not and should not be. They should not be thought as polarized and separate but as goals that are vitally linked. Affirmative action should be a way of increasing the intellectual vitality of the university and improving its academic excellence.

Finally, we should not forget that we are working with men. They can be extraordinarily helpful to us, helping us to implement and carry the load for us at times. We certainly should not allow ourselves to become polarized into isolated factions on the boards in which we work.

Trustee-Administrator Interaction

Katharine Auchincloss
Presentor

Leaders
Katharine Auchincloss
Columbia University
Charlotte Conable
Cornell University

Recorder
Joycelyn Hart
Cornell University

You might be interested to know that our workshop included a mixture of trustees and administrators but all the administrators were also trustees somewhere else.

The first major topic was taken not from the point of view of women trustees but rather from that of the whole board interacting with the administrators. It became apparent that there is a wide variety of structures within the institutions that we work in and are trustees for. Some have small boards that work as a unit of the whole; some have a large board, like Cornell. The mechanisms for each, therefore, had to be quite different depending on the institution. The small board frequently could work directly with administrators. The large boards, on the other hand, were apt to work through a committee structure. In many cases, the committees involved students, faculty, and others as part of them. The important point we all stressed is that the trustees have to have contact with these other groups.

We also talked about the whole problem of communication. One specific issue has to do with the fact that a trustee meeting is run by a fairly rigid agenda. We need to find mechanisms for getting communication from other parts of the university and knowing what is really going on underneath that agenda.

There were several different suggestions of ways that this is done. For example, there is the very formal visiting committee structure at Harvard, at MIT, and probably at other places. They have an ongoing structure in which board members meet with different constituencies within a specific department. They talk to the students, the faculty, and others and present a report to the other trustees, independent of the top administration. That is obviously a good way

of learning what is going on. Other places have done it with task forces or ad hoc committees dealing with particular issues. Often this device is used when the issue is affirmative action.

Another way of increasing communication has been the retreat. A meeting of two or three days with administrators, trustees, and students, in which all groups meet together for a freewheeling discussion. Whatever way it is done, we all thought this was a very desirable kind of thing to have happen. It should be a formal mechanism, however, that does not bypass the president and his or her administration or violate already existing channels.

We each have a keen awareness that the role of trustee is becoming more and more active. This, I think, has been apparent since the end of the sixties. It is becoming well recognized on every board. It involves all kinds of things, including, as Lieutenant Governor Krupsak pointed out, legal liabilities. Our responsibility in these cases is to see that the laws are being obeyed, whether it is affirmative action or some other area, and that the university or institution is not subject to any more litigation than is necessary.

We also spoke about how trustees were becoming more involved with tenure decisions. We were concerned that faculty are winning a higher and higher percentage of tenure decisions. As a passing thought on this subject, we commented on trustees' growing impatience — if that is the right word — with the collegial process, the self-governing process, and the slowness of it. Unlike business, a trustee does not say, let us do it now. It takes quite a long time in the university, but that is causing some of the problems. Perhaps I can summarize: it is going to be more work from now on to be a trustee no matter where you are or who you are.

We dealt as a final topic with the question of what was the special role of woman trustees: should they have particular advocacy roles? I think Lieutenant Governor Krupsak really said it very well for all of us. She said she thought it was not advocacy so much as a resource role. We agreed to the necessity to know more about the particular problems of women so that we will be able to increase the sensitivity of our colleagues and ask different questions than they might ask.

We did talk about the question of power and decision making. We were aware that it is important, while we are increasing all these channels of communication, learning more, and spending more time at it, that we be constructive in doing all of this, that we not get between the administration and the staff and cause more problems. It is, in short, the kind of tightrope trustees always walk.

Alumnae as Future Leaders

Cecily Selby
Presentor

Leaders
Cecily Selby
Massachusetts Institute of Technology
Judith Walzer
Radcliffe College
Helen Berg
Cornell University

Recorder
Jennie Farley
Cornell University

I was recalling this morning that about thirty years ago the president of my undergraduate college, Radcliffe, used to refer to it as a community of scholars. After our meeting this morning, which did include a good percentage of scholars, I would say now that the university is actually a community of scholars aided, abetted, and audited by alumnae.

The trend to involve the alumnae is certainly irreversible and a good thing. In the world today the alumnae have a real role to play in helping the student body, the faculty, and the administration to develop their own leadership and the leadership of the future. The points that we are making about alumnae roles in the development of leadership relate as much to men as to women. But we gave recognition to the special loneliness in women's roles and identities that do exist in many of our campuses, either within the student bodies or within the faculties, and also to the very special need to help women at this particular time to develop expectations of success that they have not had before. So whenever I mention role modeling, it is in terms of helping the women in their new roles as trustees, administrators, or community leaders.

Our discussion focused on two questions: What do you think is the best that your institution and you have been doing in terms of the development of leadership? And what do you think you could do better? All the colleges represented recognize the important role of alumnae in recruiting students and, thereby, developing leadership. One interesting suggestion we heard was that, in addition to being just absolutely gorgeous, charming, and attractive in interviewing students, it would not be a bad idea to let the students know what we have done professionally, what our role in life is, very seriously. We also mentioned the need to care. For example, by having receptions for students before they even enter the college, you can set up the model of a caring community in which the alums and the trustees are a demonstrable part.

We defined four stages of alumnae involvement, beginning with the woman undergraduate. A great point was made of the significance of donated scholarships in identifying and encouraging leadership. Having a Mary Donlon Alger scholarship is very meaningful in terms of presenting a role model of successful women. We also heard a good deal about Cornell's and other universities' involvements in internships. This means placing students during vacations or other times with alumnae in particular careers to enable the students to develop some closer understanding of the career and again the expectation of success.

Some mention was made of the roles of student government and student activities in the ongoing development of leadership and of the possibilities of developing new kinds of linkages between alumnae and student leadership. Particularly illustrative were some

rather poignant stories about the significance of having a "woman's room." In my own particular case at MIT, where there were five thousand men and very few women, the fact that many years ago an alumna had thought to donate a room where the women could go meant a great deal. We translated that twenty-five years later to the Woman's Center at Barnard and heard at length how important the identification of a woman's center is. It says somebody cares, this is where you can go and meet like-minded people.

We also talked about the loneliness that we find both academically and socially in this changing time on our campuses. We felt very strongly that alumnae should try to be aware of any new and different projects that need help in getting into the main stream. Encouragement of women's studies as an academic discipline is one example. It was also suggested that when excellent reports are given to the trustees or particular alumnae councils that they be circulated to the students as well.

Now we have helped the student through college with all this tender, loving care and role modeling. A strong recommendation was made about the importance and usefulness of tracking students after college. In other words, keeping track of successes of younger alumnae in order to encourage further successes. We discussed the many ways in which not only the placement office but also alumnae trustees can be alerted to something great that an alum has done. If we recognize these things, it provides further encouragement. Some of us shared personal instances about how important it was to us when our college kept track of us. Colleges should be urged to do this informally or formally, and we alums can play a role.

The final link — I do not know whether to call it the post-post college phase — is designed to help that alum make that track back to the college, such as we have all done, to close the circuit in another sense. That is, we hope we will be encouraging more women alumnae to come back as we have done to ask hard questions regarding women's roles, grievance procedures, and support for continuing education.

We started to talk about the need to mix the older alumnae with the younger. We all know that the older alumnae are the source of funds ultimately. We discussed the great difference in attitudes. Call it conservative. Call it contemporary. Whatever you call it, there is an attitude difference between thirty-year classes and ten-year classes in terms of the role of women on campus, the role of women in the world, the role of women in decision making. We felt very strongly that we should encourage more mixing than has been going on. It would help fund-raising, and it would help the development of leadership if we could make the older alumnae perhaps more cognizant of what is going on with our campuses.

Finally, it was mentioned that woman trustees must not sit on our laws. Eternal vigilance is needed. We must be adept at making changes to meet this happy and irreversible involvement of the alumnae in all areas of the college.

Women Administrators

Identification, Development, and Leadership Roles

Kay Hall
Presentor

Leaders
Kay Hall
Brown University
June Fessenden-Raden
Cornell University

Recorder
Madelyn Hemmings
Cornell University

In our workshop we began by considering the magnitude of the problem of identifying and developing woman administrators because there are so few now at the very top. We heard the results of an ACE survey of over twenty-five hundred accredited colleges and universities, which found only 5 percent of colleges and universities, small and large, private and public, headed by women. And 80 percent of these women are heads of small, sectarian colleges. There are only five women now who currently direct public institutions. The problem is especially severe for minority women: of all colleges, black, nonblack, public and private, only two are headed by black women. So the problem *is* there. We also feel that the talent is there. Trustees can do a great deal to improve the situation.

We came up with prescriptions in two areas. The first area is identifying potential woman administrators. One prescription was that trustees can help identify women from outside the normal university channels, from business and from law, women with whom they come in contact through their own professional experience. We noted that this involves recognizing that universities are credential-oriented rather than skills-oriented, and that sometimes these skills may be overlooked. One of the trustees' roles is to call attention to the fact that these skills are relevant to university administration and to bring these women to the attention of university administrators.

Second, trustees can play an important role in developing talent inside the university. They need to get to know the women in their colleges. I understand each time the woman trustees at Cornell visit campus, they meet with a different group of women administrators so they know the women on their campus. They can then be in a position to point out a capable woman, to aid her mobility within the institution.

Third, women need to be encouraged to recognize their own administrative skills. One of the problems is that we may have administrative experience, but we do not see it as such. Women need to be encouraged to realize that the experience they have had in grant administration involves supervisory and financial experience. Some of the experiences they have had on university committees involve relevant administrative skills.

In the area of developing woman administrators, our first prescription is that trustees aid in the revision of policies for male and female administrators pertaining to leaves of absence for special experience, for internships, and for minigrants for professional development. These leaves and grants are available to faculty but are almost nonexistent for administrators. Providing these leaves would allow opportunities for skill development and upward mobility.

A second prescription is to recognize the importance of ongoing education on equal employment opportunity for male and female

trustees and administrators. Those of us who have been here for the past two days have learned a great deal. One of our tasks now is to go back and educate our counterparts who are not here. That will be an ongoing task, and we need to be constantly aware of it. A third prescription, and some institutions may already do this, is to have periodic reviews of administrators that include an evaluation of their record on affirmative action. These periodic reviews with the evaluation of affirmative action efforts should be made available for confidential review by trustees. Fourth, the idea of trustee visiting committees, which was discussed in another workshop, was recommended in ours also.

A fifth prescription is the mentor system, which is extremely important in the development of administrative talent. We need to recognize the need for mentors within the administrative ladder for women. Trustees can play an important role here, first of all, by being mentors themselves. I think trustees may not have considered the fact that they can and do play this role for women in their institutions. They can serve as mentors by providing information, encouragement, skills, and visibility for the women in the institution. Secondly, trustees can reinforce the mentor system by encouraging male and female administrators to play the mentor role for women. One way that trustees can do this is to look around at board meetings to see which assistants, and assistants-to, have been brought along to the board meeting. If the assistants and assistants-to tend to be male, you can encourage the administrators to be mentors to female assistants as well as their male assistants.

A sixth prescription, which we cast in the form of a recommendation because we felt it was more important than some of the others, is that trustees should expect an annual review of the status of woman administrators on their campus. This annual report should include, first, a list of where the women administrators are, what their titles are and at what level do they exist; second, a salary and promotional analysis, which was described by Mary Rowe yesterday; third, information on career development programs within the university, both formal and informal — we feel that informal career development is very important and should include the number of women participating, the number of total participants, and the availability of opportunities for study within the institution, travel to workshops, and other experiences; and, fourth, as part of this annual review, a needs analysis of administrators. What is it that administrators feel they need in order to achieve professional development? What kinds of experiences are relevant and can be provided by the university for professional development?

Women Faculty:
Recruitment, Development, Promotion, and Remuneration

Penelope Hartland-Thunberg
Presentor

Leaders
Ruth Ekstrom
Brown University
Penelope Hartland-Thunberg
Brown University
Joan Wright
Cornell University

Recorder
Nancy Meltzer
Cornell University

This workshop on women faculty covered in part some of the same subjects that some of the other workshops did but, I suspect, with less consensus. In fact, our discussion was so wide ranging and there was so little identifiable as a consensus that our format for this presentation is largely a listing of subjects discussed.

Ruth Ekstrom, who had prepared a special background paper on the issues surrounding the workshop topic (see appendix 1), summarized the national situation briefly. In 1962 women made up 19 percent of the full-time faculty in institutions of higher education; today, they account for 24 percent. These positions, however, are predominantly in the lower ranks. In private colleges, for example, 5 percent of the full professors are women. Women receive less pay than their male colleagues at every professional level.

The picture for recruitment of females to the faculty is ambiguous. With the increasing number of Ph.D.s awarded to women, the supply is much less problematic than was true ten years ago. The distribution, however, is not even across all fields. As Lilli Hornig put it, the wrong pipelines are filling up. Women are earning doctorates in fields that are predicted to shrink or to show no growth, while fields in which there is a growth prospect have not attracted many woman graduate students.

The promotion situation is more problematic. According to Ekstrom, four major aspects should be considered: sex-biased criteria, institutional policies, differential expectations, and women's aspirations. Particular emphasis was placed on the policies of the institution for support of professional women, especially in the nontenured ranks. The availability of adequate support services, travel allowances to attend professional conferences, opportunities for junior women to be coauthors of papers with senior faculty, availability of mentors for junior woman faculty, equitable distribution of assignment to prestigious committees and of committee responsibilities, availability of child-care services, and equitable distribution of student advisement responsibilities are all examples of institutional policies that affect the promotability of woman faculty.

Discussion following Ekstrom's summary of the situation included the following major points or questions:

- While the number of woman graduate students has increased, much of this increase has been in fields that are not readily marketable. Universities should take responsibility for counseling graduate students.
- Support should be given to junior faculty women. It takes work to provide a sympathetic environment and to be sure that the junior faculty member is accurately informed about criteria for tenure. Each department should have a senior faculty member actively involved in counseling and working with junior staff. This helps to

retain promising young faculty, to develop their talents, and to increase their prospects for promotion.

- Are the traditional expectations for allocation of faculty time currently appropriate? Should more emphasis be placed on teaching? Is there recognition of the demand on female faculty for counseling and advisement of students of both sexes?
- How is the impact of the faculty member's work on the academic field evaluated? Is it the number of publications or the contributions to further work in the field? Are there sex-biased criteria for evaluating publications? Are the number of citations taken into account?
- Since women are concentrated in the lower faculty ranks, how do we, given the tenure system and decreasing opportunities, increase the promotion of junior female faculty and the appointment of senior female faculty at higher faculty ranks?
- Are there ways other than the tenure system to protect academic freedom?
- What are the initial selection criteria for faculty? Are they truly job-related or do they have hidden sex-bias? Are there alternative experiences and qualifications that might be considered? Among criteria presently used are (1) Is the person pleasant to be with? (2) Will his wife be a pleasant citizen? (3) How will his age affect the tenure structure of the department? (4) Will hiring the person mean that too many will be coming up for tenure at the same time? Isn't the presence of women of equal importance to criteria such as these? If we seek diversity in the student body, shouldn't we also seek diversity in faculties? Should something like veteran's preference be given to a qualified woman candidate?
- A search is required before a faculty appointment. At the time of the tenure decision, should we require comparison with woman and minority candidates outside the university? Should it be asked whether the individual contributes to diversity in the department?
- Universities might consider esablishing a fund to promote diversity in the faculty. Funds for wider searches should be made available. There should be a commitment to diversity.
- Trustees should evaluate the procedures for selection and promotion as they exist now, including those used in cases where tenure was denied. Trustees should ask what the policy is, and they should be concerned about the way in which junior faculty get advice about the avenues to tenure.
- In order to identify practices and outcomes that are not recognized as sex-biased or intended so by the searchers, feedback should be sought from persons who have been candidates for positions.
- Reference procedures and content for men and women should be checked to identify subtle (or overt) forms of sexism in recommendations given and received. Faculty should be sensitized to their responsibility to write unbiased letters of reference and to interpret letters of recommendation from men and women without bias.
- Trustees are empowered to ask whether outcomes meet the expected goals of the institution and of the unit and to ask how policy is being implemented.
- Trustees should have an advisory committee on affirmative action. The status of affirmative action at the institution should be a regular topic of concern. Trustees should make opportunities to talk with members of the faculty, giving special attention to department chairpersons, and with administrators at all levels. Trustee visiting committees should include the status of affirmative action in their agendas for each department or unit of the institution.

Summary Session

Summary Remarks

Jean Way Schoonover
Cornell University
trustee

The Mary Donlon Alger Conference of Trustees and Administrators is a first. As Cornell's Board of Trustees chairman, Robert Purcell, said in opening the conference, both the name of the conference and its sponsorship by Cornell are highly appropriate because of Cornell's tradition of equality of education for both women and men. And, as Lilli Hornig, director of HERS, put it later, Cornell is the place where women have had something approaching equal opportunity since the institution's inception.

A final count of our full-time participants was fifty-two, with representatives from Barnard, Brown, Columbia, Dartmouth, MIT, Pennsylvania, Princeton, Radcliffe, and SUNY, in addition to Cornell. Our resource people included representatives from the Association of Governing Boards, Higher Education Resource Services (HERS), the American Council on Education, and HEW's Fund for the Improvement of Post-Secondary Education. We are grateful that all these people were able to attend.

Washington Area Resources for Affirmative Action

Donna Schavlik
American Council on Education

Because of the nature of the American Council on Education, our office has chosen to concentrate on women in administration. I am delighted to have the opportunity to be with you here to see that the role of the woman administrators and the role of the woman trustees can be worked together for the betterment of both. Just to give you an idea of what we are doing in that area, we are trying to establish an identification system that we hope can include woman trustees. We have done a study of woman presidents and have had one meeting of woman presidents at Wingspread, where they all mentioned the need for and the support of the woman trustees.

There are three resources in the Washington area I would like to mention to you. The first is the National Coalition for Women and Girls in Education. The coalition sees itself as a watchdog for the enforcement, the promotion, and the revision of federal regulations. We got together to assist in getting Title IX out in regulation form so that we could work on it. We are now currently involved in safeguarding Title IX, which seems to be attacked on every front, and we are also working on Revised Order 4, which is a part of the executive order which you heard about yesterday. Groups included in the coalition include the Project on the Status of Women, which Mary Anne Krupsak referred to yesterday; our project; the American Association of University Women; the League of Women Voters; the National Council of Jewish Women; and the National Council of Negro Women.

A second important resource will be available soon. Bella Abzug has put through a bill in Congress to establish, as an extension of International Women's Year, the National Women's Conference,

which will cover all areas including education. The first plan involves a series of state conferences. I am sending a plea to recommend women to serve on the state committees and to be involved in that structure. It would be very important for colleges and universities to be represented.

A third resource is the National Women's Agenda, established through a Ford Foundation grant. An enormous variety of women's groups have contributed to it. Lots of issues related to women's affairs are listed. The education portion was by the National Coalition for Women and Girls in Education. This agenda is something we would like to keep going. Any of you who would like to become involved may do so.

Finally, there are some resources that can help you in all the activities that have been mentioned by every single workshop. Let me mention them quickly. First, you can write to your own representative in Congress and ask him or her to put you on the mailing list for the Congressional Clearinghouse on Women's Rights. It is important to do it that way because it supports the efforts of Charles Rose from North Carolina who put this congressional clearinghouse together. It lists all women's issues, not just those in education; and it comes out weekly, so that it is probably more information than you want or can deal with. But you can at least be appraised of the things that you are interested in.

There is also *Higher Education in National Affairs*, a weekly publication of the American Council. It comes to the university if you belong to the council, and it certainly can and should be shared with trustees. Then you can also subscribe to the *Higher Education Daily* yourself.

Plans for Future Conferences

Charlotte Conable
Cornell University
trustee

The conference committee had two concerns: first, that we structure a conference that would be valuable and successful for all who participated; second, that we determine whether or not this kind of interchange would be valuable to continue after this first conference.

As you know, we asked each of the institutions to report to us about the second concern. We asked about four areas in particular. First, should we try to establish a communication and information system for concerned trustees and administrators perhaps through ACE and AGB or some other existing channel of information? The consensus is favorable; indeed, many suggested we try to go through the existing channels rather than establishing any new ones.

Second, should we hold a future conference such as this one? The answer to that one from most institutions was yes. In general, they felt that the participation in this conference was good; it was small enough to be workable, and it was a group of people who had many common interests.

Third, if there is interest in future conferences, should we have a steering committee? Of course, the answer to that is yes.

Fourth, should we try to act in an advisory capacity to federal or state agencies? I think that everyone in the group felt that that was not necessary or not within our purview at this point; it is being done very well by other organizations. So our first job is to concentrate on our own exchange of communications and information.

The Cornell Conference Committee will take the responsibility for communicating with you after this conference. We will try to act in accordance with the recommendations that were given to us.

Address

Jacquelyn Anderson Mattfeld

Affirmative Action in a No-Growth Situation

Jacquelyn Anderson Mattfeld
President
Barnard College

A few years ago, four or five now, there was an ACE meeting in Florida that addressed itself to topics dealing with concerns of women in the academic world. It was perhaps notable as being the one ACE meeting where men stayed away in droves and the presidents of our research and educational institutions were conspicuous by their absence. I do not suppose that that was an accident.

Sometime later in the same winter, a winter in which there was much brouhaha in our world about the status, salaries, promotion rate, and evaluation of the quality of the research and teaching of women, I was at an academic conference in the Windy City with a very different program. It was in the dead of winter, and naturally the presidents of the great universities were present. At the end of one session I got on an elevator, where, having as usual forgotten my name tag, I was marvelously invisible and anonymous. This particular elevator had two presidents of two very distinguished universities who certainly did not recognize me although I recognized them with no difficulty. They did have their institutional tags on. One said to the other, "Well, it has been a rough couple of years. First the war protesters, then the blacks, and now the women. God knows what is coming next, but these social movements sure are wearing." The second one said to the first, "I wouldn't worry. It's all a fad. Just wait another year or two, it will all wash over and things will go back to normal."

Many of you remember the *Daedalus* issue, now perhaps twelve years old, in which Carl Degler did a very perceptive analysis of relationships among the economic condition of the country and the social and political roles of women. In brief, his thesis, easily verifiable, was that women have been able to break through barriers and have become more readily acceptable in the world at large during those times when there was either a great shortage of men as, for example, in wartime or when we were in a particularly affluent time so that there was plenty for everybody. It would not be difficult to demonstrate that, for women of my generation, the period just after the Second World War was one in which the individual who chose to go to graduate school and have children was only slightly less peculiar than the woman who chose graduate school and did not have children. It was a time in which every woman's publication in the country was stressing that being a real woman required at least four children, doing one's own housework, and doing a great deal in the community to reestablish that aspect of the feminine contribution to our world.

It was an interesting time for me when, as an early female administrator at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, I suggested to the woman students that in preparation for the conference on which we were working together, on women in the scientific professions and engineering, they do an analysis of the thinking revealed in the

stories in magazines aimed both at men and women or at one group or the other and widely read by the American population. The women who did that little project discovered quickly that the image of the professional displayed was that of the suffering individual who had ultimately to choose between her true love and her profession, between being a real woman and being one of "them."

We are in a new period. The question is how new and how long will it last, because, if there is anything mitigating against the continuation of the present changing role of women in the academic professions, it will be, first, human nature and, second, the economic situation. I would like to start with human nature if only because we seem so reluctant to talk about it.

Role Expectations for the Two Sexes

There is, to my knowledge, virtually no society that does not make evident certain differences in role expectations for the two sexes. Certainly, there is no group of human beings anywhere in the world that does not demonstrate the less attractive attributes of discrimination and in-group, out-group behavior.

In our country, there are hierarchies particularly observable in universities and colleges. I know you are aware that research, or the acquisition of knowledge — particularly if it is quantifiable — is considered more important than the general education of future citizens, known as teaching undergraduates. You also know that the image or model of corporate structure and governance or even the political model is considered of greater value than the notion of community; that the specialist is more highly regarded than the generalist; that the quantifiable is taken to be more important and reliable than the qualitative; that the study of the physical universe is considered more important than the study of the things that pertain to human beings — their persons, their personalities, their interaction; that large institutions and large bodies are considered more valuable than small; that men are considered better than females; and that formal hierarchical style is considered more professional and more acceptable than informal and variable relationships.

If we start from the point of admitting that we recognize all too easily these patterns of discrimination and remember that for several thousand years the accomplishments of society have, if only as recorded, belonged to the white male population (at least in Western

society), and if we realize how ill-fated each of the women's movements during the last two hundred years has revealed itself to have been, we are somewhat sobered by the moment in which we find ourselves and in which we have gathered to discuss affirmative action. I define affirmative action as a process of selection in which individuals of comparable preparation and comparable accomplishment are evaluated by their peers and by those who would normally make a selection, resulting — the qualifications of candidates of both sexes and different races being equal — in a choice made in favor of the women or the minority people. Affirmative action of that sort in a no-growth situation at a time in which the economic pressures on higher education, particularly private higher education, are acute and appear to be going to worsen rather than lessen, is, if not doomed, at least under fire.

Trustee Involvement in Supportive Policy

The problems of carefully recruiting, selecting, and ultimately promoting faculty, if studied, reveal a microcosm of the academic profession, and a particularly revealing point on which to focus such a study is perhaps the relationship of the equal employment officer to the departments and to the administration. I understand that in other panels today the role of the top administration, especially the president, has been discussed. It is a little bit like money, the presidency. Jerry Zakarias used to say, "Money isn't everything, but without it, you can't do anything." The same is true for presidents. The president is neither omniscient nor omnipotent, but without a clearly defined position in support of affirmative action on the part of the president, a position that is not an ambivalent one, but one growing from absolute commitment, the second level administration will not get far in ensuring that affirmative action takes place. If there is another key person, it will be the affirmative action officer, who in far too many institutions has *not* been chosen because he or she has the highest intelligence or the most open and cooperative stance or the best ability to relate easily and at least on a par with departmental chairpersons. The name of the game too easily becomes how to best the affirmative action officer and structure, not merely how best to keep the chain of command and the old-boy network intact.

Given these difficulties in implementing a working affirmative action system, women as trustees, and trustees in general, clearly have as a first responsibility the selection of a president who is committed to the policy the trustees as a corporation have adopted for the institution. Having selected the president, they remain responsible for the monitoring of the policies they have chosen that individual to carry out on their behalf. The women within trustee boards, however, all too often, like women and others in any minority situation, can discover that to speak out is to be enormously uncomfortable, often invisible, and almost always inaudible.

Self-Images of Woman Trustees

I have had many conversations with the women on five different boards and find that the majority of them feel that their views and their concerns are of less importance than those of other members of the group. Perhaps because of that self-image and role image, some of them, in their loneliness and perhaps in their insecurity, feel it necessary to speak against those individuals — faculty, or administrators or trustees — who carry any kind of case for some particular

interest of female faculty or students. These trustees may even find it acceptable behavior to undermine policies that might reinforce a university's or college's support of the women members of its various constituencies. Women who are senior faculty members are sometimes in the same situation. Having once achieved promotion to tenure in an uncertain world, it is difficult for them to be as open in their support of women as one might expect. There are many unfortunate stories of female faculty members who make it more difficult, rather than equally difficult, for female associates being reviewed for promotion.

No-Growth and Promotion to Tenure

In none of these situations is there any more difficult problem than the promotion to tenure of faculty. In the present no-growth state of education, the increase of tenured faculty in proportion to the whole, as the total actual size of faculties diminishes, is a real and important factor in decisions to which all of us need to be sensitive. The revolving-door phenomenon described in many articles these days is a real one. Women are admitted now to the lower ranks of the faculty in a higher proportion than they were, but they continue to be promoted to tenure at a lower rate than their male counterparts. It is not my belief that this happens because women are necessarily in any way inferior to their male counterparts, nor do I believe that it is conscious discrimination at work. I think we are dealing far more often with very subtle and very difficult forms of evaluation playing an unconscious part in the review of published work and of the teaching of men and women.

Pressures on Female Faculty

Some of the studies that have been done recently by the American Council on Education, the Association of American Colleges, and the American Association of University Professors have had rather interesting bits of information about differences between men and women in their functioning as faculty. We find, for example, that a great many more women then men are committed to the notion of liberal education as opposed to professional or preprofessional [illegible] college years. We find evidence that women [illegible] time advising students one-to-one and [illegible] less effective as lecturers in large classes [illegible] project into the very large and often distant environment [illegible] lecture room. We find also that they are prone to [illegible] great deal of time to individual instruction in remedial work [illegible] students outside the classroom and, of course, that they are clustered in the less prestigious institutions and in the lower ranks of faculty of the better institutions.

Many of these characteristics of female faculty members, the result of choice or perhaps of pressure that forces a female faculty member to spend a disproportionate amount of time on students or teaching compared to her male counterpart, may have the side effect of lowering productivity in her published research. Often such unfortunate side effects accrue and then become a determining factor in why the individual is not promoted when her male counterpart is.

I do not wish to minimize that reality. On the other hand, there are cases in which it is very difficult to determine by looking at the quantity of work published, why an individual has not been promoted. The amount of published material appears to be the same as

that for others who were promoted, but upon looking into it, I have discovered that the selection of topics that relate to women rather than to some other nonspecified parts of society have sometimes changed the attitude of an entire department toward an individual's research or ability to teach.

Interesting also is another phenomenon I have observed in some institutions with which I have had associations. There will be a very careful and a very honest search. The search will turn up two hundred or three hundred applicants. Perhaps twenty will be interviewed. The selection will be narrowed down to five, and in the end a woman will be chosen, or, if there were two vacancies, let us say a woman and a man. Again and again I have observed that within five or six months after the appointment of two such individuals, one man and one woman, it begins to be rumored that, for some reason, the woman is not as good as her credentials suggested. The grapevine begins to pick up and amplify the rumor. When such rumors are to be credited, one must then conclude either that the materials on which we judge faculty at the time of their entrance to the academic profession is enormously imprecise, and that it is a better indication of male performance than female (in which case we have much to work on); or we must conclude that a woman, once in the educational environment of a university or college, is in some way no longer as effective as she was as a graduate student. If the latter is the case, we have another set of problems with which we must struggle. Finally, there is the possibility, of course, that it is easier for men to judge men than it is for men to judge women, and that, in fact, the faculty selecting new teaching members are simply not picking the winners from among the women. Whatever the reason, it is a matter for deep concern that the ablest women, trained in the best institutions, entering into the marketplace in the academic profession of teaching and research are, for whatever reasons, not proceeding in the same pattern as men, and the same percentages are not moving into the tenured ranks.

It will be argued that since we are in a no-growth situation, it is unfortunate but inevitable that this is so. Most certainly it is inevitable that fewer men as well as fewer women will gain tenure. But it is equally the case that those of us who are presidents, deans of faculty, and deans of colleges must be enormously and particularly alert to the possibility of unconscious discrimination. All our procedures should make it possible to monitor for effectiveness and fairness. It is easy to know whether there have been the correct number

of advertisements or the correct number of recommendations in a folder. It is less easy to know or to do anything about whether judgments on the content of a man or woman's dissertation topic, or the articles the applicant has chosen to write, or the individual's ability to project in the lecture room are or are not being made with the hidden determining factor being the sex of the candidate, or the uneasiness of the individuals judging, or the difficulty in expanding conventional disciplines to take in new kinds of material, or simply a very ancient certainty that those who have from the beginning been in authority and power are being displaced if the newcomer is retained.

Sexual Equality in Other Sectors of the University

The problems of the lone woman in a male administration are also rather complicated. It is not always easy to judge effectiveness if the individual represents a great many of the values that are of lower priority to the university than are the values of her male counterparts. A university or college is always marked with a particular character having to do with its history and with the values of those who in successive generations have left their stamp upon it. For the few women who are now in the top echelon of academic administration in the select universities and colleges represented here in this room, and several not here today, it would be difficult indeed to assess their effectiveness without looking over a five- or ten-year period. Until the last eighteen months, very few universities have been concerned with the quality of undergraduate education or with attempting to discover whether the person receiving the degree has, indeed, achieved whatever it is the school has set forth for holders of its undergraduate degree. Very few of those institutions have been truly committed to the equal education of men and women, although they may indeed for some years have believed it important to have men and women in the same classroom paying the same tuition. Very few of them have felt that coeducation meant cocollegueship in the professions of teaching, research, and administration.

Since we know very little about how social attitudes can be changed permanently when they involve the sense of superiority or inferiority, the belonging or the exclusion of others, we know very little about how to ensure that the apparent gains of the last few years are continued. Virtually every woman in every institution of higher learning has a responsibility for working openly and as dispassionately as possible with her male colleagues, students, and friends to ensure that they, as we, remain sensitive to the necessity for a world to include both the interests and the talents of people with different values and different perspectives on common values and common problems.

We are, indeed, in a no-growth situation. Private education, indeed higher education, is threatened. There is, as never before, unparalleled need to support and protect the continuation of research and the training of scholars and scientists and artists in the university community at a time when there is little public support for any of these ends. There is also a long overdue movement towards which we should look, one in which men and women see one another as equals and as partners in supporting that tiny bubble on God's glass, the pursuit of truth. It is to be hoped that all of us in the institutions represented here will in this very difficult time attempt to affirm one another and to assure that women and men will be equally represented in our schools a decade hence.

Appendixes

Appendix 1

Issues in the Recruitment, Development, Promotion, and Remuneration of Women Faculty

Ruth B. Ekstrom
Brown University
trustee

According to recent data (U.S. Office of Education, 1976), women comprise about 24 percent of the full-time instructional faculty in institutions of higher education. While the proportion of female faculty has increased slightly in recent years (it was 19 percent in 1962), most of this growth has occurred as individuals under the age of thirty enter the untenured academic ranks (instructor and assistant professor). The 1975 Ladd-Lipset survey found that, among academic men and women under the age of 35, 15 percent of the men and 41 percent of the women held the rank of instructor, while only 8 percent of the women, as compared to 21 percent of the men, had reached the tenure rank of associate or full professor. The status of female faculty in private universities is even more discouraging: women comprise only about 5 percent of all the full professors in these institutions while they constitute nearly 10 percent of all the full professors in all types of public institutions (junior colleges, colleges, and universities) and in private two- and four-year colleges.

There are also tremendous differences in the percentage of female faculty in various academic fields within the faculties of major universities. Women comprise about 5 percent of all university natural science faculty and 18 percent of the social sciences faculty, as compared to 43 percent of the faculty in the more applied fields that have traditionally attracted women (education, library science, nursing, child development, and home economics).

Moreover, despite laws requiring equal pay for equal work, female faculty still tend to receive lower pay than do male faculty; this is true even when the type of higher educational institution where they are employed and the rank they hold are taken into consideration. For example, among university faculty, the average salary for male full professors is $24,485, while for female full professors it is only $21,582. While the salary difference is less at the lower ranks, i.e., $14,638 for male assistant professors in universities and $13,919 for female assistant professors in these institutions, there is no type of institution or rank where the average salaries for male and female faculty are equal.

Faculty Recruitment

In discussing the problem of recruitment, it is important to consider the availability of women for faculty positions and the process by which they are selected.

Among the basic questions raised by this data on the status of academic women are "Are there enough qualified females available to increase the proportion of women on college and university faculties?" and "What is the relationship between current and future demands for doctoral degree holders and the fields in which

women have obtained doctorates?" Women were approximately 10 percent of the total doctoral degree recipients during the 1950s and 1960s, although the proportion of doctorates awarded to women has increased sharply during the 1970s.

Moreover, in recent years, doctorates awarded to white males have decreased by 9 percent while those awarded to white women have increased by 34 percent and to minority women by 133 percent (McCarthy and Wolfe, 1975). Interestingly, the increases in the doctorates awarded to women are even more pronounced in graduate departments that are rated as distinguished or strong.

There are, however, considerable differences across academic fields in the proportion of females; 45 percent of all doctorates awarded to women are in anthropology, biology, education, the health sciences, psychology, and the Romance languages. Women also receive more than 25 percent of all doctorates awarded in art history, classics, comparative literature, economics, English, Germanic languages, home economics, library sciences, linguistics, microbiology, speech, social work, and sociology. In other fields, however, such as engineering and the physical sciences, it is still difficult to find a substantial number of woman doctorates. The evidence suggests that, in most academic fields, there are proportionately more women who receive the doctorate than there are women who receive regular faculty appointments. However, the supply of woman doctorates appears to be greatest in fields that are traditionally feminine or that already have an oversupply of doctorates; there is still a lack of woman doctorates in nontraditional or rapidly growing academic fields.

Barriers to the Recruitment of Woman Faculty

Even if there were an adequate pool of women in every field to be recruited for available faculty positions, the recruitment process itself combines elements that can act as barriers to the employment of women.

Among the processes that can limit the hiring of women for academic positions are (1) the use of sex-biased criteria; (2) institutional rules and regulations that disproportionally affect women; (3) biased or unfair application of neutral criteria, such as differential expectations for and evaluation of males and females; and (4) women's own self-concepts and expectations for success.

One problem in the selection of women for academic positions is the nature of the job criteria. Often these criteria, because they are based on certain assumptions about life-styles, needs, and career ladders that are more typical among and suitable for males than females, inadvertently discriminate against many women. A first step in attempts to increase the number of female faculty might involve a review of job criteria prior to the advertising of the position so that such requirements as those relating to age, full-time employment, extent of previous experience, which may not be really relevant to job competency, can be revised or omitted.

Among the institutional rules and regulations that may operate as barriers to the recruitment of female faculty are limits on part-time employment, nepotism rules, and inadequate provisions for maternity leave and for child care.

Because many young faculty women have family responsibilities in addition to their academic job, they may prefer to work part-time during some portion of their career, such as when their children are young. Not only do many colleges and universities not allow for temporary, part-time faculty appointments, but those institutions that

do have such appointments often consider them to be outside the tenure track. Thus, women who are able to obtain part-time positions are permanently relegated to the lower academic ranks and may be able to obtain only year-to-year appointments. In addition, part-time faculty are much more vulnerable to the effects of faculty reduction than are full-time, tenure-track faculty. One possible solution is to allow faculty to switch from full-time to part-time appointments for a limited number of years but to continue on the tenure track by requiring the part-time years to correspond to the full-time equivalents typically involved in reaching tenure. This would free the part-time faculty from having to meet criteria regarding the amount of teaching and number of publications prior to tenure, which are realistic only when a faculty member works full-time. Of course, improved maternity benefits and child-care facilities could do much to remove the necessity for part-time appointments for women with young children.

Formal nepotism rules, which in the past prevented many academic women from obtaining employment in the same institution or in the same department as their husbands, are now rapidly disappearing. However, informal policies regarding nepotism still exist and limit employment opportunities for many women.

A review of institutional policies to determine their impact on the recruitment, retention, and promotion of women faculty is an important step and is also in keeping with the Title IX regulations.

In addition to these more obvious barriers to the recruitment of women faculty, there are the more subtle obstacles to the employment of academic women created by the sex-role stereotypes that society holds for all women and by society's attitudes about and expectations for women.

Certain beliefs, although false, greatly restrict the opportunities available to women. These include such myths as (1) women are less intelligent than men; (2) women do not have a real commitment to a career; (3) married women are more interested in their family than in their jobs; (4) women are irresponsible and emotionally unstable. Thus, when a group holding these views interviews both male and female job applicants, their evaluation of equally able candidates may reflect these beliefs and result in the male being perceived as the better candidate. Experimental studies in a number of academic fields have confirmed the widespread prevalence of this process. In addition, female job applicants are frequently evaluated both in terms of how well they meet the cultural standards of femininity and how well they meet the job competency standards by which both men and women are evaluated. Differential evaluation of males and females is not, of course, limited to individuals being recruited for faculty positions but continues throughout every phase of faculty evaluation for salary, promotion, and tenure. The same process also affects other women, such as those being selected for positions as administrators and trustees.

Women who serve on committees where other women are evaluated and selected, whether for faculty, administration, or trustee positions, should be sensitive to this problem of differential evaluation and take whatever steps to remedy it as will be most appropriate with that group. Tactful efforts to make male colleagues aware of these different views for males and females may gradually modify the extent of this process. There is a need for training materials to help sensitize faculty, administrators, and trustees to the problem of differential evaluation of males and females.

It may be helpful for a senior woman administrator to review the recommendations that faculty members write for male and female

graduate students who will be seeking teaching positions. For example, if a male faculty member comments on the physical attractiveness of all of his female graduate students but for none of the males or on the career promise of all male students but none of the females, then a discussion with this faculty member might help him to structure parallel types of letters for both sexes and to omit an area only when it is one on which the recommender prefers not to comment.

Women themselves often are affected by the societal expectations for them and, as a result, may undervalue themselves and their own abilities. For woman doctorates, this may result in their seeking jobs at a lower academic rank or in a less prestigious institution than do equally able males.

Women may also feel that their own careers are secondary to their husbands' career development. For academic women, this may lead to taking a number of low-level or temporary positions in different colleges rather than making normal progress up the tenure ladder. It may also mean that these women are not employed at or have the opportunity to move to institutions that could best advance their professional and career development.

Despite the above problems in the hiring of female faculty, there has apparently been a sincere effort in recent years at affirmative action in the recruitment. Both Bayer and Astin (1975) and Cartter and Ruhler (1975) have reported that by the mid-1970s evidence of discrimination in first job placement and initial salary seemed to have disappeared.

Faculty Development and Promotion

The next question is whether "women with the same qualifications and accomplishments as men are advanced and remunerated in equitable fashion throughout their professional careers."

Even when young women are hired as faculty members, they are most likely to hold positions in the lower academic ranks than are men, and they do not advance as rapidly up the career ladder. Moreover, these women are often excluded from many of the opportunities available to their male counterparts. Female faculty continue to be affected by the same myths and differential evaluation problems that may have already limited their employment opportunities.

Women faculty are more likely to receive initial appointments to the lower academic levels than are men; they are also more likely to receive marginal appointments that are not a part of the career ladder (Robinson, 1973). Both of these phenomena tend to limit the subsequent advancement and promotion of these women.

In addition, a number of studies show that, once appointed, women advance more slowly through the academic ranks than do men. For example, in studies for the National Academy of Sciences (Harmon, 1965, 1968) found that, although the woman doctorates in the sample had somewhat greater academic ability than the males, they achieved the status of full professor more slowly than did men. The lag varied somewhat with field, being from two to five years in the social sciences and up to ten years in the physical sciences. Single women were usually advanced up the career ladder more rapidly than married women. Women who have been fellowship recipients have been found to advance more slowly than men even though their publication rates and teaching loads are comparable.

Similar evidence is available for a wide variety of academic fields, as well as for many colleges and universities (Robinson, 1973). In every case, female faculty progress through the ranks at a slower rate than do men.

Many of the same processes that affect the recruitment of female faculty also affect the advancement of women in the academic ranks and in their professional fields. Thus, the criteria for advancement may be sex-biased, institutional policies may differentially affect males and females, women and men may be evaluated differently on supposedly neutral criteria, and the woman's own role expectations and conflicts may limit her advancement. An additional barrier to the advancement of academic women is the lack of those experiences that are important for advancement. Moreover, the experience of being in a minority status may have a psychological impact on some women's working behaviors.

When women faculty are evaluated for promotion, the criteria may reflect male biases about what constitutes relevant experiences for achieving a higher ranked position. Additionally, the significance of an activity or of an area of specialization, for research and scholarship, is defined in terms of what the male-dominated educational community has, in the past, defined as important and legitimate. Rarely are the different values held by female academicians taken into consideration, and, as a consequence, new types of scholarly work by women may be depreciated by males when they review female faculty for promotion or for professional honors.

Women faculty are described as being and report themselves as being more interested in teaching than in research. Some studies suggest that this is a consequence of a higher proportion of women faculty compared to men being in colleges and junior colleges that emphasize teaching rather than in the research universities; others suggest that it is a result of the male-female differences in fields of specialization.

Tidball (1976) has described how male faculty subscribe to the research image of an institution, as contrasted with a teaching emphasis, to define institutional quality and to be an important part of the image of academic success. Each college and university needs to decide for itself the relative importance of research and teaching in relation to its institutional image and, then, to see that the criteria by which its faculty are evaluated reflect these values.

In institutions where publish or perish is the byword, considerable emphasis is placed on the research done by faculty members and on the resulting publications. While some studies have found women to have lower publication rates than do men, there is evidence that, in mathematics, political science, and chemistry, sex accounts for less than one percent of the variance in academic productivity (Hargens, 1971). Simon and her colleagues (1966, 1967) found that the sex differences in productivity may be related to marital status; married women faculty were more likely to have published at least one article and had a higher mean number of articles published than did married male faculty or unmarried female faculty. (But a considerably higher proportion of female faculty than male faculty are unmarried.)

When faculty members who are to be reviewed have been involved in research or other work in areas that are not those the members of the department have studied in the past, it would be wise to bring in evaluations from outside experts rather than assuming that failure to replow the same academic furrows indicates a lack of an appropriate choice for scholarly enterprise. This is espe-

cially important when reviewing faculty who have worked in fields like women's studies or who have developed new teaching programs to meet the needs of women entering traditionally masculine fields.

As was discussed earlier, institutional policies that do not allow faculty to hold part-time positions tend to differentially affect academic women. This is especially true for younger women who face heavy expectations for teaching, research, and publishing during their first few working years, which are, for many women, also the childbearing years. Allowing the option for faculty to hold part-time appointments during some of these years and to use full-time equivalent years in setting dates for promotion and tenure review will provide more flexibility for those women who need it.

Institutional policies regarding support for faculty research, attendance at professional meetings, and other professional development activities also need to be reviewed to see if funds are allocated over the entire faculty rather than simply to the tenured faculty. Additionally, trustees and administrators may wish to encourage the acquisition of special funds to support the professional development of junior faculty by offering stipends to support small research projects, participation in professional organizations, and other activities that will enhance the continued intellectual growth and professional visibility of non-tenured faculty.

Of course, the availability of any such funds or other opportunities for faculty development should be announced publicly and the announcement should be repeated on a regular basis. Often, although faculty development opportunities exist, their availability is communicated by word-of-mouth; in predominately male faculties, this can result in this information being passed on by the old-boys network and, hence, not being known to female faculty.

When women faculty are reviewed for promotion, they must often carry the burden of many of the sex-role stereotypes we discussed earlier. Among these and other additional stereotypes frequently voiced in the evaluation of women are (1) female faculty lack career commitment; (2) female faculty do not do research; (3) academic women are ambivalent about success; (4) married women will not undertake really demanding jobs; (5) married women do not want to be promoted to jobs that would give them higher status than their husbands.

Even when these erroneous beliefs are not voiced, the same skills and competencies considered assets for a male may be described as liabilities for females and used as obstacles to their promotion. For example, individuals in leadership positions are expected to be independent and assertive. These are positive characteristics for a male in our society but are less acceptable for females. Males are praised and promoted for being clear-headed and attentive to detail, but a woman exhibiting the same behaviors is often described as tough and bitchy.

The lack of women in senior faculty and administrative positions may act as a signal to younger female faculty that the institution is not likely to promote women or to encourage their professional advancement. This, of course, can produce a self-fulfilling prophecy, with younger faculty seeking to move to institutions where women are more visibly successful.

In order to break this cycle, it is necessary for colleges and universities to recruit women at every level, not only for entry-level, junior faculty positions. Even in the current period of very limited appointments to tenure positions, such appointments are made, and there are women available to fill these senior positions. However,

an extensive search may be necessary to find these well-qualified senior faculty women. To facilitate such searches, some institutions have set aside special funds to help underwrite the costs of these wider, and consequently more expensive, searches to find women to fill these role-model positions.

It has been well documented that women and men being appointed to junior faculty positions are often not treated by their senior colleagues in a comparable manner and that, as a consequence, young academic women may not have the opportunity to have the same experiences as do their male counterparts. These differences in experience may then limit the women's promotional opportunities.

Part of this difference in treatment may be related to the expectation that women will be more interested in teaching and less interested in research. As a consequence, women faculty may be more frequently asked to teach an extra class and less frequently asked to participate in a research project with senior faculty. A review of teaching loads and research participation for male and female junior faculty would be in keeping with Title IX and would serve as a means of alerting administrators to possible inequitable treatment.

Moreover, young female faculty members often lack the kind of interaction with colleagues that is so important in the professional development of a scholar. Research evidence points to the importance of a male mentor in the advancement of many prominent woman academicians and administrators. This is partly because senior males are in a stronger position of power and influence in most organizations, whether colleges or businesses, than are females; these males can better facilitate the advancement of younger protégées. Additionally, there is the lack of senior women to serve as role models and mentors. Moreover, some of these potential female mentors may not be willing to work for the advancement of younger women either because of their own insecurity and lack of power or because they have succumbed to the "queen bee" syndrome.

However, senior males are often considerably more reluctant to take on young women as protegées than to have young men in the same role. This may be because the older male still holds many of the erroneous stereotypes about female faculty, because he feels that his colleagues may insinuate that the relationship has sexual overtones, or because he simply is more accustomed to and comfortable in working with members of his own sex. As a consequence, many formal and informal professional development opportunities are communicated only from male to male. Tenured faculty should be made more aware of this and asked, when they are selecting junior faculty to assist in research and other scholarly work, if the opportunity has been communicated to all junior faculty members in that department or division.

Still another factor that affects the promotion of women faculty is the number and type of committee assignments they receive. In many institutions, service on committees is a factor weighed in decisions about promotion and tenure. Often such service is viewed as an indicator that the faculty member is concerned about the problems of the college or university, as well as being a scholar and a teacher, and that the individual might have the potential to move into an administrative position. Such committee service also provides the faculty member with an opportunity to play campus politics and to become better acquainted with department chairpersons and administrators. Evidence from the early 1970s (Robinson, 1973)

suggests that female faculty are not only given fewer committee assignments than are men but that the assignments they receive are to less prestigious committees. More recent anecdotal reports suggest that faculty women may now be dealing with heavy overloads of committee assignments as institutions frantically search for a token female for every committee.

Often an academic woman finds herself as the only female in her department. This affects how she is treated by her colleagues and her own work performance. The lone woman is often subject to statistical discrimination, that is, treated as though she resembles women on the average. Additionally, the lone female in male-dominated groups is often cast, according to Kanter (1975), in one of several stereotype roles: mother, seductress, pet (group mascot), or iron maiden (militant and unapproachable). These women then tend to behave in ways that are reactions to the stereotypes. When a person is a statistical rarity, he or she must spend more time establishing a competency-based working relationship. For female faculty, this additional time may be a significant element in slowing their professional advancement.

Some women, finding themselves in the position of being the deviant member of a group, will react by exhibiting that phenomena described by Horner as "fear of success." Recent reanalyses of Horner's work suggest that what women fear in these circumstances is not success but being deviant (Lockheed, 1975) or conspicuously visible. This fear is one reason why women's groups are so important for faculty women. Groups of women holding similar positions can be particularly helpful in dispelling the fear of success. Groups that give woman faculty, administrators, graduate students, undergraduates, and trustees an opportunity to meet together from time to time will help to encourage women to make status transitions.

Faculty Salaries

One study of faculty salaries (Gordon, Morton, and Braden, 1974) found that women earn approximately 10 percent less than do comparable men. One reason for this, they found, was that women's salaries peaked earlier than did those of men.

One factor that accounts for these salary differences, on a gross level, is the difference in types of institutions where females and males are employed. As mentioned earlier, proportionally more female faculty are in junior colleges (which have relatively lower salaries) and proportionally fewer female faculty are in universities (where the highest salaries are found). Another element in the female-male salary differences is difference in academic discipline. Thus, we find that fields like medicine, which are heavily male dominated, also have the highest salaries.

Data from the National Center for Educational Statistics (1976) shows that the average salary for males who are members of university faculties is $18,946 while females on university faculties have an average salary of $14,660. The discrepancy between the remuneration of females and males is much more pronounced at the upper ranks and less in the untenured positions. These data suggest that the salary differences, in part, may reflect the processes already discussed that account for women's slower promotion in academe.

Sandler (1973) has described some of the myths that may lead to academic women being given lower salaries. These include (1) married female faculty members do not need as much money, so it is all right to pay them less; (2) unmarried women faculty members do not need as much money, so it is all right to pay them less; (3)

academic women earn less than academic men because they are not as well qualified.

The studies cited by Sandler to refute this last myth indicate that an academic woman's sex costs her approximately $1,000 a year as compared to equally qualified males.

Conclusion

One recent study (Liss, 1975) has suggested that because of their ignorance of the facts, concentration in the lowest ranks, acceptance of many myths, and co-optation, female faculty fail to perceive that they are the victims of sex discrimination. As a consequence these women "are not able to help well-intentioned administrators to understand the incremental decisions that tend to exclude or discriminate against women. . . ." Strong social networks among women aware of the affirmative action requirements for training, upgrading, and promoting underutilized women were recommended as one solution.

We must also take other actions to reduce the role conflict for woman faculty, provide them the same kinds of external support (such as role models and mentors) that are available to men, and provide them the same rewards (both in terms of salary and career opportunity) as men if we are, indeed, serious in our commitment to improving the status of female faculty.

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Appendix 2

Conference Schedule

Friday, September 10, 1976

10:30 a.m. Herbert F. Johnson Museum of Art Lobby
Registration and Museum Tours

12:00 Noon Sixth Floor, Museum
Lunch
Welcome, Robert W. Purcell, Chairman, Cornell University Board of Trustees
Highlights of Each Institution's Affirmative Action Position
Lauryn Guttenplan, Cornell University trustee, moderator

1:30 p.m. Level 2L Lecture Room, Museum
Panel *Affirmative Action Today: An Interpretation*
Patricia Carry Stewart, Cornell University, moderator; Lilli Hornig, HERS, New England; Mary Anne Krupsak, Cornell University; Virginia Smith, FIPSE; Mary Rowe, MIT
Open Discussion

6:00 p.m. 700 Clark Hall, Hans Bethe Room
Cocktails and Dinner

8:00 p.m. 700 Clark Hall, Hans Bethe Room
The Role and Contribution of Woman Trustees Judith Younger, Cornell Law School; Mary Young, Cornell University, discussion leader

Saturday, September 11, 1976

7:45 a.m. Statler Hall, West Lounge
Breakfast

8:45 a.m. Statler Hall, Private Dining Rooms
Workshops
Woman Trustees and Decision Making Leaders: Jean Howard, Brown University; Patricia Carry Stewart, Cornell University
Trustee-Administrator Interaction Leaders: Katharine Auchincloss, Columbia University; Charlotte Conable, Cornell University
Alumnae as Future Leaders Leaders: Cecily Selby, MIT; Judith Walzer, Radcliffe College; Helen Berg, Cornell University
Woman Administrators: Identification, Development, and Leadership Roles
Leaders: Patricia McFate, University of Pennsylvania; Kay Hall, Brown University; June Fessenden-Raden, Cornell University
Woman Faculty: Recruitment, Development, Promotion, and Remuneration
Leaders: Ruth Ekstrom and Penelope Hartland-Thunber, Brown University; Joan Wright, Cornell University

10:45 a.m. Statler Hall, Main Lounge
Summary Session, Jean Way Schoonover, Cornell University, moderator

11:45 a.m. Statler Hall, West Lounge
Lunch

12:30 p.m. Statler Hall, West Lounge
Address: *Affirmative Action and a No-Growth Situation*
Jacquelyn Mattfeld, President, Barnard College

Appendix 3

Mary Donlon Alger Conference Participants

Barnard College

Arthur Altschul
Partner, Goldman Sachs & Co.
55 Broadway
New York, New York 10021

Jane Gould
Director, Women's Center
Barnard College
Columbia University
New York 10027

Elizabeth Janeway, Trustee
15 East 80th Street
New York, New York 10021

Jacquelyn Mattfeld
President
Barnard College
606 West 120th Street
New York, New York 10027

Brown University

Ruth Ekstrom, Trustee
Educational Testing Service
Princeton, New Jersey 08540

Joyce Fairchild, Trustee
666 Angell Street
Providence, RI 02906

Kay Hall
Assistant Dean
Brown University
Providence, Rhode Island 02912

Penelope Hartland-Thunberg, Trustee
The Center for Strategic and International Studies
Georgetown University
1800 K Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20006

Jean Howard, Trustee
732 Allen Street
Syracuse, New York 13210

Eric Widmer
Executive Officer of the Dean of Faculty and Academic Affairs
Box 1826
Brown University
Providence, Rhode Island 02912

Ruth Wolf, Trustee
538 East Avenue
Pawtucket, Rhode Island 02860

Columbia University

Katharine Auchincloss, Trustee
Assistant to the President
Fairleigh Dickinson University
Office of the President
Rutherford, New Jersey 07070

Donald Miller
Vice President for Personnel Management
Columbia University
New York 10027

Cornell University

Mark Barlow
Vice Provost
302 Day Hall
Cornell University
Ithaca, New York 14853

Helen Berg, Trustee
Associate Dean New York Hospital—Cornell School of Nursing
515 East 71st Street
New York, New York 10021

Charlotte Conable, Trustee
5800 Kennedy Drive
Chevy Chase, Maryland 20015

Dale Corson, Trustee
President
300 Day Hall
Cornell University
Ithaca, New York 14853

Nellie Corson
144 Northview Road
Ithaca, New York 14850

June Fessenden-Raden, Trustee
Vice Provost
306 Day Hall
Cornell University
Ithaca, New York 14853

Lauryn Guttenplan, Trustee
218 Delaware Avenue
Ithaca, New York 14850

William Herbster
Senior Vice President
Cornell University
Ithaca, New York 14853

David C. Knapp
Provost
300 Day Hall
Cornell University
Ithaca, New York 14853

Rita Knapp
111 Comstock Road
Ithaca, New York 14850

Mary Anne Krupsak
Lieutenant Governor of New York
The Capital, Room 246
Albany, New York 12224

Robert Purcell, Chairman
Cornell Board of Trustees
30 Rockefeller Plaza, Room 5400
New York, New York 10020

Richard Ramin
Vice President for Public Affairs
303 Day Hall
Cornell University
Ithaca, New York 14853

Adele Rogers, Trustee Emerita
7007 Glenbrook Road
Bethesda, Maryland 20014

Jean Way Schoonover, Trustee
President
Dudley-Anderson-Yutzy Public Relations, Inc.
40 W. 57th Street
New York, New York 10019

Patricia Carry Stewart, Trustee
Vice President
Edna McConnell Clark Foundation
250 Park Avenue
New York, New York 10017

Joan Wright, Trustee
Assistant Professor Community Service Education
N-124 Martha Van Rensselaer Hall
Cornell University
Ithaca, New York 14853

Mary Young, Trustee
Apt. 3-S
1662 1st Avenue
New York, New York 10021

Judith Younger, Trustee
Deputy Dean, Law School
216 Myron Taylor Hall
Cornell University
Ithaca, New York 14853

Dartmouth College

Marilyn Baldwin
Assistant Vice President and Dean for Student Affairs
209 Parkhurst Hall
Hanover, New Hampshire 03755

Margaret Bonz
Affirmative Action Officer
Hinman 6018
Dartmouth College
Hanover, New Hampshire 03755

Massachusetts Institute of Technology

Patricia Garrison
Assistant Equal Employment Opportunity Officer
Office of the Vice President
Administration and Personnel
Massachusetts Institute of Technology
Cambridge, Massachusetts 02139

Mary Rowe
Special Assistant to the President and Chancellor for Women and Work
Massachusetts Institute of Technology
Cambridge, Massachusetts 02139

Cecily Selby, Trustee
President
Americans for Energy Independence
1250 Connecticut Avenue, N.W.
Suite 502
Washington, D.C. 20036

John Wynne
Vice President for Administration and Personnel
Equal Employment Opportunity Officer
Massachusetts Institute of Technology
Cambridge, Massachusetts 02139

University of Pennsylvania

Phoebe LeBoy
Professor of Biochemistry
University of Pennsylvania
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19174

Margaret Mainwaring, Trustee
Whitehorse and Mill Roads
Phoenixville, Pennsylvania 19460

Princeton University

Albert Rees
Provost
Office of the Provost
1 Nassau Hall
Princeton, New Jersey 08540

Marsha Levy-Warren, Trustee
50 West 72nd Street
New York, New York 10023

Radcliffe College

Frances Fuller, Trustee
55 Cabot Place
Bloomfield, Michigan 48013

State University of New York

Delores Schmidt
Assistant Vice Chancellor for Affirmative Action
State University of New York
99 Washington Avenue
Albany, New York 12210

Resource People

Nancy Axelrod
Association of Governing Boards of Universities and Colleges
1 Dupont Circle
Washington, D.C. 20036

Alison Bernstein
Assistant Director
Fund for the Improvement of Post-Secondary Education
U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare
Washington, D.C. 20201

Margaret Hickey
Public Affairs Editor
Ladies' Home Journal
4940 Tumrod
Tucson, Arizona 85711

Lilli Hornig
Director, HERS, New England
Point Meadows
Little Compton, RI 02837

Linda Lamel
Program Secretary
Office of the Lieutenant Governor
State of New York
The Capital Room 246
Albany, New York 12224

Cynthia Secor
Director, HERS, Mid-Atlantic
University of Pennsylvania
4025 Chestnut Street
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19174

Donna Shavlik
Assistant Director, Office of Women in Higher Education
American Council of Education
1 Dupont Circle
Washington, D.C. 20036

Cornell Staff

Florence Berger
Assistant Dean of Students

Lydia Bukowy
Student Assistant to the Vice Provost

Joyce Cima
Assistant Secretary of the Corporation
Assistant Secretary of the Board of Trustees

Swan Connell
Administrative Supervisor of Public Affairs

Ruth Darling
Associate Dean of Students

Jennie Farley
Assistant Professor of Industrial and Labor Relations

Laurie Goldstock

Joycelyn Hart
Assistant Ombudsman

Madeleine Hemmings
Assistant to the Director
Personnel Services

Judy LaMotte
Administrative Aide
President's Office

Nancy Meltzer
Assistant to the Dean
College of Human Ecology

Kathryn M. Moore
Assistant Professor of Higher Education
Editor of Proceedings

Connie Murray
Associate Dean of Students

Virginia Rinker
Training Specialist
Personnel Services

Ann Roscoe
Administrative Assistant to the Provost Coordinator for Committee on the Status of Women Coordinator for Conference Arrangements

Charlotte Shea
Assistant Director
Career Center

Malve Slocum
Supervisor of Records and Residence
Development Office

Glenna Thaler
Administrative Aide
Council's Office

Adele Wells
Director of Corporate Relations
Development Office

Appendix 4

Gateways and Barriers for Women in the University Community

An Annotated Bibliography

Lydia Bukowy '78
Cornell University

Editor's Note This bibliography was sent to participants before the conference. Each entry in the bibliography is coded to one or more of the main subject headings of the conference:

A. Woman Trustees and Decision Making
B. Trustee-Administrator Interaction
C. Alumnae as Future Leaders
D. Woman Administrators: Identification, Development, and Leadership Roles
E. Woman Faculty: Recruitment, Development, Promotion, and Remuneration
G. General

Books

Abramson, J. *The Invisible Woman*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1975.

E, G. A case study of Ms. Abramson's experiences in academia: faculty recruitment, development, and promotion. Of general interest, with an extensive reference list.

Astin, Helen. *The Woman Doctorate in America*. New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1969.

C. A survey of the development and advancement of woman doctorates and suggestions on increasing support for young women interested in higher education. N. B. bibliography.

Bernard, Jessie. *Academic Women*. University Park, Pa.: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1964.

E, G. An exploration of woman's life in academia, the invisible rules that restrict her movements, the cultural roles that have interfered with her achievements and progress, and the notion of "freedom to fail." Statistical.

Brown, David G. *The Mobile Professors*. Washington, D.C.: American Council on Education, 1967, pp. 76–82.

D, E. A discussion of the three major arguments for discrimination in academic hiring, promotion, and remuneration. The tone of the presentation seems to support these arguments, and only briefly does the author state that cultural factors influence discrimination.

Carnegie Commission on Higher Education. *Opportunities for Women in Higher Education*. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1973.

D, E, C. An excellent, statistical report on women and discrimination on all levels of university life: student, faculty, and administration. No discussion of alumnae. Makes extensive, if not idealistic, recommendations related to achieving affirmative action in each chapter. Extensive bibliography.

Carnegie Council. *Making Affirmative Action Work in Higher Education*. Washington, D.C.: Jossey-Bass, 1975.

A, B, G. An extensive study of the academic policies affected by affirmative action. The study includes historical information on the federal policies, the timetable set to meet these objectives, and the deficiencies in the administration of these policies. Sections relevant to all sections of the university community, except alumnae.

Centra, John M. *Women, Men and the Doctorate*. Princeton, N.J.: Educational Testing Service, 1974.

E Report of an extensive survey of the doctoral level experiences and records of men and women. The comparisons are clearly and sharply drawn.

David, Opal D. *The Education of Women*. Washington, D.C.: American Council on Education, 1957.

E, C The proceedings of a conference on the status of research on the education of women. Offers an extensive bibliography of material on the role of women in education, business, etc., dating from the mid-1950s. Provides a historical perspective on the ideas concerning the goals of educational opportunities for women.

Epstein, Cynthia R. *Woman's Place*. Berkeley, Ca.: University of California Press, 1970.

D, E A discussion of the socialization of and reconciliation to the roles of women. Includes studies on the barriers for women in achieving professional status. The thrust of the book is an examination of the attitudes that have hindered advancement of women.

Farber, Seymour. *The Challenge to Women*. New York: Basic Books, 1966.

A, C A confrontation of the barriers to achievement of educational equality and some proposals to change the situation.

Farnsworth, Marjorie W. *The Young Woman's Guide to an Academic Career*. New York: Richards Rosen Press, 1974.

E, C A realistic approach to the difficulties faced by young women attempting to enter graduate work or academia.

Feldman, Saul D. *Escape from the Doll's House: Women in Graduate and Professional School Education*. Prepared for the Carnegie Commission on Higher Education. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1974.

E A detailed, thorough analysis of the situation for women in graduate and professional schools. The conclusions are more timid than the data would allow, but a fairly balanced presentation.

Folger, John. *Human Resources and Higher Education*. New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1970. pp. 280–304.

E, C An examination of the distribution of educated women in the labor market and their productivity and some recommendations recognizing the shift in educational and employment ambitions of women.

Freedman, Mervin. *The College Experience*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1967. pp. 133–61.

C An attempt to present the woman student's ideas concerning her position as an educated person and her systems of values, but really an analysis of the responses of two groups of Vassar undergraduates. The discussion of women and work is slightly less narrow.

Furniss, W. and Graham, Patricia A. *Women in Higher Education*. Washington, D.C.: American Council on Eduction, 1974.

E, C A series of essays concerning the women's movement and the woman student. The major topics discussed are the challenges facing woman students, female faculty, and the legal contexts for guidance in decision making.

Grouns of the Advancement of Psychiatry. *The Educated Woman*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1975.

A, C, D A study of the attitudes toward educated women and what can be done to adjust roles to help people, especially women, achieve broader conceptualizations about themselves. Further reading list included.

Higginson, Margaret C., and Quick, Thomas L. *The Ambitious Woman's Guide to a Successful Career*. New York: AMACON, 1975.

C, D, E, G A discussion of the sex-role definitions that bar women from advancement and suggestions for dealing with sexism.

Hole, Judith, and Levine, Ellen. *Rebirth of Feminism*. New York: Quadrangle Books, 1971.

A, D, E, G An exploration of the present arenas of affirmative action such as education, professions, and what the major forms of resistance are to establishing equal opportunities. Includes a chronology of significant achievements and four historical documents.

Janeway, Elizabeth. *Man's World, Woman's Place: A Study in Social Mythology*. New York: Dell, 1971.

G A scholarly explanation of the social underpinnings of woman's place. Effective data and explanatory information in a calm but pointed style.

Jencks, Christopher, and Riesman, David. *The Academic Revolution*. New York: Doubleday and Company, 1968.

C A comparison, in "Feminism, Masculinism and Coeducation," of the struggle of women to achieve educational equality with that of the minorities. A discussion of the cultural influences guiding woman students in their education.

Lewis, Edwin C. *Developing Woman's Potential*. Ames, Iowa: Iowa State University Press, 1968.

E, C Much discussion of the education of women, as well as a study of stereotyped roles for women. Heavy emphasis on the need for intelligent planning to achieve equal opportunities. Excellent bibliography.

Lipset, S. M., and Ladd, E. C. *The Divided Academy*. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1976.

E, G An analysis and discussion of a recent survey of thousands of faculty in higher education on their attitudes, values, and beliefs. Segments of the book were serialized in the *Chronicle of Higher Education*.

Matthews, Esther E. *Counseling Girls and Women Over the Life Span*. Washington, D.C.: National Vocational Guidance Association, 1972.

B, C, G A work intended to sensitize people to the cultural influences on role definition for women. Illustrates when values are set.

Millman, Marcia, and Kanter, Rosabeth Moss. *Another Voice*. New York: Anchor Books, 1975.

G A collection of essays concerning the sociology of the feminist movement. Not specifically related to educational institutions, but concerned with the socialization of women.

Mueller, Kate Hevner. *Educating Women for a Changing World*. Minneapolis, Minn.: University of Minnesota Press, 1954.

A, C An attack on the problem of how to educate women that examines the cultural role of education.

Norton, Eleanor H., ed. *Women's Role in Contemporary Society: The Report of the New York City Commission on Human Rights*. New York: Avon Books, 1972.

G The text of the presentations to the commission in 1970 concerning the struggle to achieve women's rights. The topic of women in education is discussed by Bernice Sandler, Ann Harris, Anna Babey-Brooke, Melissa Richter, and Kate Millet.

Rich, Adrienne. "Toward a Woman-Centered University." In Florence Howe's *Women and the Power to Change*. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1975.

C, D, E An article directly concerned with improving the educational opportunities for women. Reviews the historical and culture barriers. Three other essays also apply to achieving equal opportunities in the professions and our society.

Thompson, Mary Lou. *Voices of the New Feminism*. Boston: Beacon Press, 1971.

D, G Essays examining the impact of the feminist ideology on our society. Notable contributions are "Women and Legislation," Martha Griffits; "The Educational Establishment: Wasted Women," Doris L. Pullen; and "Women Must Rebel," Shirley Chisholm. An extensive bibliography.

Westervelt, Esther M., ed. *Women's Higher Education: Some Unanswered Questions*. Report of a Wingspread conference. Racine, Wis.: Johnson Foundation, 1972.

C, D Proceedings of a conference on the direction for women's education and how to meet the special needs of minority women and white, working-class women. Also discussed is the use of higher education to sensitize the sexes to the need to eliminate sex discrimination.

U.S. Department of Labor, Women's Bureau. *Continuing Education Program and Services for Women*. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1971.

D A listing of continuing education programs for women, by state.

Articles

"AAUP is Instructed to Plan Action Against Colleges That Discriminate." *Chronicle of Higher Education* 5, 29 (4 and 26 April 1971).

A, C Short article on an expansion of the AAUP's committee W to discourage discrimination against women.

"AAUW Standards for Women in Higher Education." *Journal of National Association of Women Deans and Counselors* 35, 2 (Winter 1972): 90–95.

A, B The general objectives, as developed by the AAUW, for institutional policies to end discriminatory opportunity practices against women. The document lists the objectives, i.e., various areas where equity needs to be achieved for students, faculty, and administrators. It also lists the criteria to be considered for meeting the objectives.

Astin, Helen, and Bayer, Alan E. "Sex Discrimination in Academe." *Educational Record* 53, 2 (1972): 101–18.

C, E Statistical study of sex discrimination in the academic reward system, using salary, rank, and tenure figures as indicators. Proposes a reevaluation of the reward system, since it serves not only to discriminate against women but students in general as well.

Baine, Emmie V. "Women Holders of Leadership Positions on Coeducational Campuses." *Journal of NAWDC* 32: 39–40.

C An article supporting the autonomy of women's organizations to provide leadership opportunities for students. The article "Is It Desirable for Women's Organizations to Maintain Their Autonomy?" by Dan W. Dodson, discusses the value of some sex segregation at coeducational institutions.

Bayer, Alan E., and Astin, Helen S. "Sex Differentials in the Academic Reward System." *Science* 188, 4190 (23 May 1975): 796–80.

E The results of an ACE survey to determine what change, if any, federal affirmative action regulations have made regarding the hiring, advancement, and remuneration of female faculty.

Bird, Caroline. "Women's Colleges and Women's Lib." *Change*, 6 April 1972: 60–65.

A, B A perspective on education for women that tends to be interpreted in one strict manner, i.e., single-sex colleges do provide a method of reducing discrimination. Stresses the need for consciousness-raising for both sexes.

Blaska, Betty. "Women in Academe: The Need for Support Groups." *Journal of NAWDC* 39, 4 (Summer 1976): 173–78.

E, C Review of studies pointing to women's disadvantage in "the professional socialization process wherein faculty-student interaction helps the student acquire a career identity, aspire to a graduate or professional degree and assume the academic and professional behaviors expected." Urges formation of support groups and describes potential structures and function of such groups.

Carroll, Mary Ann. "Women in Administration in Higher Education." *Contemporary Education* 43, 4 (February 1972): 214–18.

D Proposal for obvious methods of getting women into administrative positions, i.e., apply for the positions, recommend women for the job, and train women, creating a resource pool.

Chait, Richard, and Ford, Andrew. "Can a College Have Tenure and Affirmative Action Too?" *Chronicle of Higher Education*, 1 October 1973: 16.

E, G An editorial exploring the effect of the no-growth situation in academia caused by tenure and how this system interferes with achieving affirmative action.

Chalmers, E. L., Jr. "Achieving Equity for Women in Higher Education, Graduate Enrollment, and Faculty Status." *The Journal of Higher Education* 43, 7 (October 1972): 517–24.

C, E A brief article discussing the barriers to women for advancement in faculty positions and gaining admissions to graduate programs. More questions than recommendations.

Cless, Elizabeth L. "A Modest Proposal for the Education of Women." *American Scholar* 38, 4 (1969): 618–27.

C A short article discussing the need to adapt the educational schedule to women's needs, i.e., continuing education programs.

Cole, Robert. "Title IX: A Long Dazed Journey into Rights." *Phi Delta Kappan* 57, 9 (May 1976): 575–77.

B The efforts of elementary and secondary schools to achieve affirmative action. The same confusions and misinterpretations on the university level hits the grade schools, where the first steps in attitude changes must be.

Council Commission on Discrimination. "Affirmative Action in Higher Education." *American Association of University Professors* 59, 2 (Summer 1973): 178–83.

G Proposals by the committee on discrimination of policy changes needed to achieve affirmative action.

Cross, Patricia K. "A Curriculum for Personal and Interpersonal Development." *Journal of NAWDC* 39, 4 (Summer 1976): 154–62.

C, G A discussion of the need to adjust college curriculum to teach students to work with people and develop a feeling for the need to see oneself as an independent unit working within a society dependent on interaction.

Curtis, Rebecca C.; Zanna, Mark P.; Campbell, Woodrow W., Jr. "Sex, Fear of Success, and the Perceptions and Performance of Law School Students." *American Educational Research Journal* 12, 3 (Summer 1975): 287–97.

C An investigation of the relationships of sex and fear of success to academic performance that concludes no interaction.

Dolan, Eleanor R., and Davis, Margaret P. "Anti-nepotism Rules in Colleges and Universities: Their Effect on the Faculty Employment of Women." *Educational Record* 41 (October 1960): 285–95.

E An examination of the effect of antinepotism barriers to the hiring and promotion of female faculty members.

Eble, Kenneth. "A Three Point Program to Strengthening the Position of Women Faculty Members." *Chronicle of Higher Education* 6, 30 (1 May 1972).

G Proposals to establish a stronger position for women, including (1) "Their no longer being convenient when needed, responsive when called upon"; (2) "their taking on some of the general swinishness more characteristic of the male"; (3) "their grounding . . . in an obdurate clinging to simple facts, unassailable notions, and general convictions of superiority that have been so successful in maintaining the dominant position of the male."

Eswald, Linda S. "Sex discrimination in Higher Education: Constitutional Equality for Women?" *Journal of Family Law* 10 (1971): 327–43.

G A discussion of four cases involving sexual discrimination in admissions procedures. The rationales, decisions, and implications of the court's actions on achieving equal education opportunities.

Fields, Cheryl M. "Administration Plan Would Require Single-Sex Colleges to Make Only Their Graduate Admissions Coeducational." *Chronicle of Higher Education* 5, 26 (5 June 1971): 2.

G Interpretation of sex-discrimination in higher education bill.

———. "Congress Gives Women New Weapon in Effort to End Sex Bias." *Chronicle of Higher Education*, 27 March 1972: 2.

G Brief article citing the bill creating the Equal Employment Opportunities Commission and its implications for affirmative action.

———. "Federal Probes into Sex Discrimination Provoke Controversy on Campus." *Chronicle of Higher Education* 5, 24 (22 March 1971): 1–2.

G Lengthy article on the work being done by such groups as WEAL and NOW in conjunction with HEW to end academic discrimination against women.

———. "Government Intervention Laid to Failure of Colleges' Leadership." *Chronicle of Higher Education*, 16 October 1972: 3.

D, E Good lead-off article for a discussion of woman administrators and faculty. More opinion and emotion than fact. Discusses Martha E. Peterson's speech before the Barnard Council.

Freedman, Jo. "Dissent." *School Review* 79, 1 (November 1970): 115–18.

G A brief excerpt from "Women in the University of Chicago: Report of the Committee on University Women, May 1, 1970" (section Summary of Findings and Recommendations). The article expresses why there is discontent among university women.

Gray, Mary W. "Report of Committee W, 1973–74." *American Association of University Professors*, bulletin 60, 2 (June 1974): 160–63.

C Proceedings. Committee W represents the efforts of the AAUP to redress sex discrimination at the institutional level. As stated in its general resolutions, the AAUP supports affirmative action in its efforts to achieve academic freedom.

Harris, Ann Sutherland. "The Second Sex in Academe." *AAUP Bulletin* 56, 3 (September 1970): 283–95.

C, D, E Reviews the progress women have made in achieving academic equality of opportunity. Concentrates on the subconscious forms of discrimination.

Holstrom, Engin Inel, and Holstrom, Robert W. "The Plight of the Woman Doctoral Student." *American Educational Research Journal* 2, 1 (Winter 1974): 1–17.

C, G An ACE-Carnegie higher education survey on the emotional factors underlying discrimination toward female graduate students.

Huff, Sheila. "Credentializing by Tests or by Degrees: Title VII of the Civil Rights Act and *Griggs vs. Duke Power Company*." *Harvard Educational Review* 44, 2 (May 1974): 246–69.

G A consideration of the effects of the Griggs precedent and Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 on the credibility of the need of higher education in the job market. Considers educational institutions as employers, especially secondary schools.

Journal of NAWDC 33, 3 and 4 (Spring and Summer 1975). Special Issues: Women in Administration, parts 1 and 2.

Kaufman, Susan G. "Few Women Get Positions of Power in Academe, Survey Discloses." *Chronicle of Higher Education* 5, 10 (30 November 1970): 1, 4.

B, D A statistical report on the distribution of women in policy-making positions in academe. Women attain higher status in private and small colleges.

Keniston, Ellen, and Keniston, Kenneth. "An American Anacronism: The Image of Women and Work." *The American Scholar* (Summer 1964): 355–75.

G An article following the traditional typecasting of femininity and the emotional and intellectual conflicts resolved by career women of earlier decades. Demonstrates the need for attitude changes in men and women.

Kiely, Owen P. "Equal Employment Opportunity Programs in Educational Institutions." *Journal of the College and University Personnel Association* 21, 1 (1969): 1–7.

C Article basically concerned with affirmative action in hiring practices. General suggestions toward achieving a sound EEO program.

Lewin, Arie Y., and Ducham, Linda. "Women in Academia." *Science* 173, 4000 (3 September 1971): 892–95.

E The results of a study on hiring practices concluding that in chemistry, women are discriminated against in all phases of advancement: hiring, grants, and promotions.

Murry, Paula. "Economic and Educational Inequality Based on Sex." *Valparaiso University Law Review* 5, 2 (1971): 237–80.

D, E, G Review of the legislation and proposals for affirmative action, indicating the type of discrimination faced by female faculty and administrators. Also in the same issue, see Freedman, Jo. "The Legal Basis of the Sexual Caste System.": 203–36. A proposal that sex discrimination creates a caste system. Historical references and legislation.

National Research Council. "Careers of Ph.D.s: Academic vs. Non-Academic." *Career Patterns Report*, National Academy of Sciences 2 (1968): 69–98.

E A statistical report on the status of woman Ph.D.s. Variables include field, year of doctorate, marital status, academic rank, where applicable, and time. The status of these women is charted by their employment function and salary. The study is basically concerned with determining the distribution of Ph.D.s (women and men) between academic and nonacademic employment.

Neugarten, Bernice L. "Women in a University." *School Review* 79, 1 (November 1970): 109–14.

E Recommendations to improve the status of female faculty members and to sensitize the university community to the presence, needs, and goals of women.

Oliver, I. "Women: Foundations Are Changing the Status Quo." *Foundation News* 17, 4 (July–August 1976): 28–34.

G Report and interpretation of conference proceedings and interviews regarding women's influence on foundation policies vis-à-vis support for women's programs, research on women, etc.

Palmieri, Patricia, and Shakeshaft, Carol Smith. "Up the Front Staircase: A Proposal for Women to Achieve Parity with Men in the Field of Educational Administration." *Journal of NAWDC* 39, 2 (Winter 1976): 58–65.

D An article addressed to public schools, but with some relevance to higher education. Discusses some of the social constraints on women's movements into educational administration. N. B. bibliography.

Parrish, John B. "Coming Crisis in Women's Higher Education and Work." *American Association of University Women, Journal* 64, 2 (1969): 17–19.

C An examination of the present orientation of education. It suggests the "quiet revolution" of "work oriented rather than culture oriented education."

"Policies and Practices Should Reflect College Commitment to Equality." *College and University Business* 48, 2: 79–83.

C Recommendations to remove sexism on campus. Proposals include equal employment, day-care centers, and women's studies programs.

Rapoport, D. S. "Women in Higher Education." *Postsecondary Education in New York State* 4, 3 (May–June 1976): 4–5.

Recommendations and resources relevant to postsecondary education.

Reisman, David. "Some Dilemmas of Women's Education." *Educational Record* 46 (Fall 1965): 424–34.

C A short article discussing social barriers to educational achievement by women, especially the barriers inflicted on women by women.

Rossi, Alice. "Discrimination and Demography Restrict Opportunities for Academic Women." *College and University Business* 48, 2 (February 1970): 74–78.

E A review of discriminatory practices in the advancement of female faculty members. In the same issue, see Claudia Buccieri, "Continuing Education: If at First You Don't Succeed," 84–86. A description of the increase and diversity of continuing education programs, especially the Radcliffe Institute.

Strommer, Diane W. "Whither Thou Goest: Feminism and the Education of Women." *Journal of NAWDC* 39, 2 (Winter 1976): 81–89.

D, E A call for research on effects of suggested means of increasing women's representation in upper levels of academic accomplishments. Points out the "higher, the lower" and "the more recent, the fewer" of women in academe.

Travis, Thomas G. "Affirmative Action on Campus: How Firm the Foundation?" *Journal of NAWDC* 39, 2 (Winter 1976): 50–57.

A, B A discussion of the impact of the Holmes memorandum on affirmative action in educational institutions.

Warren, Jim. "The Supreme Court Looks at Testing for Employment." *Educational Researcher* 5, 6 (June 1976): 8–9.

G A consideration of a recent case against government job testing, *Washington, D.C. vs. Davis*; in this case it was ruled that the testing is not unconstitutional. It has implications for affirmative action because it questions the validity of one form of hiring discrimination, i.e., the job-relatedness of testing.

Periodicals That Follow the Affirmative Action in Education Struggle

American Association of University Professors, Bulletin

American Association of University Women, Journal

American Educational Research Journal

Change

Chronicle of Higher Education

The Education of Women, an irregular publication of the Commission on the Education of Women, American Council on Education, Washington, D.C.

Educational Record

Educational Research

Journal of the National Association for Women Deans, Administrators, and Counselors

Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society

Bibliographies of General Interest

Astin, H.S.; Suniewick, N.; and Dweck, S. *Women: A Bibliography on Their Education and Careers*. Washington, D.C.: Human Services Press, 1971.

Harmon, L. A., comp. *Status of Women in Higher Education: 1963–1972*. Ames, Iowa: Iowa State University Library, 1972.

Westervelt, E. M., and Fixter, D. *Women's Higher and Continuing Education: An Annotated Bibliography*. Princeton, N. J.: College Entrance Examination Board, 1971.